

METHODIST REVIEW.

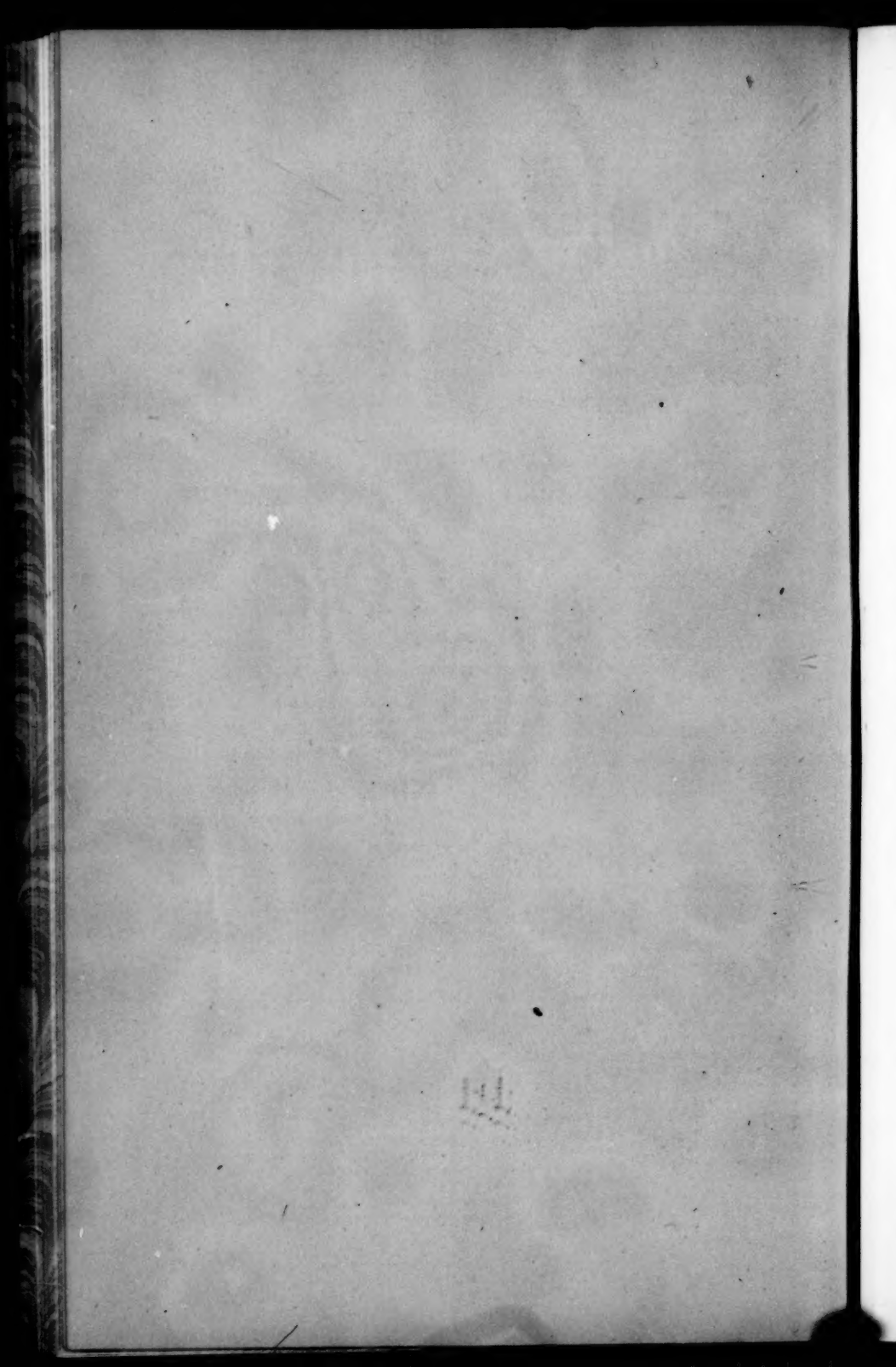
(BIMONTHLY.)

DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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Henry Bannister

REV. HENRY BANNISTER D.D.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

ART. I.—REV. HENRY BANNISTER, D.D.

AMONG the names of those who helped to lay the foundations of the present system of higher education in the Methodist Episcopal Church not many are worthy of a more honorable mention than that of Rev. HENRY BANNISTER. He came of a sturdy stock. His paternal ancestry, dating from Old England two hundred years ago, belonged to the best of New England's early colonists. The first representative of the family in America was Christopher Bannister, born in 1636, and died, in Sudbury, Mass., in 1678. During the colonial period, one or more of his descendants were officers in the local military forces, and assisted in protecting the settlers against the Indians. A grandson, John Bannister, was an officer in the French and Indian wars, and had a part in the struggle whose results changed the destinies of the North American continent from a French Catholic to an English Protestant character. A son of this officer, another John, and an uncle of our subject, was a captain in the Massachusetts forces during the war for Independence.

Henry Bannister, son of Amos, was born in Conway, Mass., October 5, 1812. When he was but three years old, his parents removed to Canton, N. Y., where his father died. When but a child he read the life of Benjamin Abbott, which deeply affected him. When about twelve years old he was deeply convicted of sin, by a sermon preached in a country school-house by Rev. B. G. Paddock; and about two years later, under the judicious teaching and guidance of a pious

school-master, he was clearly and soundly converted. His early religious associations had been with another denomination, but as he had been drawn to God by Methodist agencies he chose to cast in his lot with that people. He now felt an earnest desire for an education, and he devoted himself to study as far as he could find opportunities. When about nineteen years of age he found a door providentially opened for him to attend Cazenovia Seminary, which was commenced four years before. His friend and father in Christ, Rev. B. G. Paddock, was about to make his home at Cazenovia, and young Bannister was encouraged to go thither also. Accordingly his trunk was sent forward with the goods of his friend and patron, while he himself walked the whole distance of a hundred and fifty miles, and soon after (in 1831) he became a student in the Seminary, with only his own resolution and his trust in God for his dependence. By working and teaching and hard studying he was able to complete his preparation for college in two years. Rev. W. C. Larrabee was principal at that time, with Nelson Rounds, William H. Allen, John Johnston, J. Wadsworth Tyler, and Lockwood Hoyt for his associates. Young Bannister's earnestness, regularity, and fidelity to all his duties as a student secured for him not only proficiency in all his studies, but also the admiration of his instructors.

He entered Wesleyan University in 1833, when Dr. Wilbur Fisk was its president, and A. W. Smith and D. D. Whedon were among the professors, and later during his college course he enjoyed the advantages of the instruction of Professors Holdich and Johnston. He was graduated in 1836, having for classmates, among others, D. P. Kidder, Schuyler Seager, and D. W. Clark. In the classes below his, but his fellow-students, were D. Curry, E. Wentworth, Charles Collins, W. M. Rice, Edward Bannister, J. L. Alverson, H. M. Johnson, L. L. Knox, and B. Hawley. It was a time when giants were training younger giants for great work. The fact is obvious, however it may be explained, that the earliest classes of our colleges contained an unusual number of students who afterward became distinguished men. Not a few of them were without other pecuniary resources than their own earnings, or in some cases loans to be repaid, often secured by a life-insurance, or ad-

vances made by their parents to be repaid from their patrimony. They *went* to college rather than *were sent*, and the same zeal and devotion to a great purpose that first brought them into student life made them effective in it, and also carried them to eminence in their after careers. It is not an unmixed evil for an ambitious young man to be compelled to struggle with the burdens and embarrassments of poverty. To overcome them is the best possible assurance of ultimate success.

After his graduation Mr. Bannister attended the Auburn Theological Seminary for three years, and for the next two years was a teacher in the Academy at Lowville, N. Y. In 1840 he took charge of Fairfield Academy, N. Y., then an institution of high rank; and in 1843 was elected Principal of Cazenovia Seminary, succeeding Rev. G. G. Hapgood.

That institution, now over sixty years old, has had a most honorable career, and has occupied an advanced grade among the highest class of Methodist seminaries. It was first opened in 1824, when the only other institutions under the patronage of the Church were: Augusta College, Ky., founded in 1822; Kent's Hill Academy, Me., 1821; Wilbraham Academy, Mass., originally established at New Market, N. H., in 1818, but removed to Wilbraham in 1825. The foundation of Cazenovia Seminary was laid as early as 1817, with the design of expanding it into a college to be located at Ithaca, but the scheme shrank to the dimensions of a seminary, in which capacity it was first opened for the reception of students in 1824. In 1843, when Mr. Bannister became its principal, it had risen to be the third in the number of students in the State. The financial distress that prevailed in and after 1843 greatly embarrassed the institution. Among his first duties was the attempt to raise funds for the removal of the indebtedness of the institution, and to secure some greatly needed repairs, which he accomplished in the face of the most discouraging circumstances. After this the advance of the institution was greater than ever before. The number of students increased, and its grade of instruction was very considerably elevated; extensive additions were made to the apparatus and the library; and only a few years later, the buildings were greatly enlarged; in all of which work the principal was the chief agent. And so successful was he in his efforts that he soon placed the seminary in

the very front rank of institutions of its class in all the State. About this time his *alma mater* honored herself by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Among his associates in the board of instruction were such men as James L. Alverson, afterward president of Genesee College; Dr. A. B. Hyde, late of Allegheny College, now of Denver University; Dr. J. W. Armstrong, late principal of the State Normal School, at Fredonia, N. Y.; Dr. Edward Bannister, late president of the University of the Pacific, Cal. After a collegiate department had been added to the seminary at Lima, a similar scheme was attempted at Cazenovia; but the attempted university at Troy, and the subsequently more successful enterprise at Syracuse, seemed to forbid that undertaking, and it was at length definitely abandoned. As now arranged, the Methodist Episcopal Church has a well-ordered system of educational institutions for the Empire State, a central University, and a large and ably conducted Seminary in most of its Annual Conference territories; and with its work so organized it is able to secure the greatest aggregate results. Dr. Bannister was principal of Cazenovia Seminary for thirteen years—1843-56. During those years some thousands of students received his instruction and guidance, many of whom still live and hold his name in precious remembrance. Though he was a thorough disciplinarian, sometimes almost approaching to sternness, yet his recognized kindness of heart, and the evident purity of his purposes, secured for him the esteem of all who came under his control. It is given to only a favored few to mold and impress so many minds—and persons afterward found in so many walks of public and private life—and in all cases for their good. Among those who were his pupils not a few have risen to distinguished positions. Among these may be mentioned General Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Hon. Charles Andrews, of the New York Court of Appeals; Charles Dudley Warner, of literary fame; Hon. Leland Stanford, of California; Rev. Dr. John P. Newman; Eliphalet Remington, Esq., of Ilion, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. W. A. Bartlett, of Washington, D. C.; Rev. O. H. Warren, of Syracuse; Professor A. M. Prentiss, of Cornell University; Hon. D. P. Baldwin, of Indiana; and Hon. D. L. Follett, of the Supreme Court of New York State; and this long and illustrious roll might be extended much further. Not

many academies can present such a record of distinguished names.

In 1856 Dr. Bannister was called to fill the chair of exegetical theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, at Evanston, Ill., in which position he remained till removed by death, declining on several occasions to accept invitations to more conspicuous, but to him less desirable, positions. In 1869-70 he traveled in Europe and the Orient, visiting the great centers of European learning and culture, and studying the sites and topography of the lands of the Bible. It was while on this tour that he traveled from Jerusalem to Beyroot with Bishop Kingsley, and was with him at the time of his death at the latter place. He was connected with the old Oneida Conference from 1842 to 1856, when he became a member of Wisconsin Conference, and remained such till his decease in 1882. He was a member of three successive General Conferences—those of 1864, 1868, 1872. In 1870 he was appointed by the United States government a visitor to the Military Academy at West Point.

Rev. John Dempster, D.D., who is the recognized pioneer of special biblical and theological schools for training candidates for the Methodist ministry, after ten or more years devoted to that work at Concord, N. H., during which time the "Biblical Institute" at that place became thoroughly established—it still lives as the "School of Theology" of Boston University—undertook a like work at Evanston, near Chicago, aided by the noble liberality of a Christian lady, Mrs. Eliza Garrett, and in honor of its patron, and in remembrance of the title of his earliest "school of the prophets," Dr. Dempster called the new seminary "Garrett Biblical Institute." His original associates in its board of instruction were Drs. D. P. Kidder and Henry Bannister. To this new field of labor and of Christian endurance Dr. Bannister brought the same transparent honesty, fidelity of purpose, and earnest love for his work, and especially the marked personal care for the subjects of his teachings, that had distinguished him at Cazenovia—qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for his work.

The visitor at Evanston to-day finds but little to remind him of the newness and crudeness of the condition of thirty years ago of that quiet seat of Christian learning, and now flourish-

ing suburb of a great and wealthy city. Every thing was to be begun and carried forward with the fewest and simplest appliances, and with subjects for tuition as crude and unprepared as were their surroundings. Into this work Professor Bannister threw himself with characteristic devotion, and in it he continued with indomitable perseverance, laboring patiently and hopefully through all its formative stages, till he saw it established and enlarged into its full proportions, standing side by side with the noble array of kindred institutions which together combine to make Evanston at once the Oxford and the Mecca of the North-west. Here he lived and labored, happily and successfully, till, smitten by disease he ceased to live and labor, April 14, 1882—one of the noble few of whom, at the close of his career, one instinctively exclaims, "Well done, good and faithful."

Of his work and character, a judicious and not overdrawn estimate is given in the reported remarks made by his surviving associate, Dr. Ninde (now Bishop), from which brief extracts are subjoined :

In the sphere of Christian education, and during the past twenty-seven years in the sphere of ministerial education, he has labored with unwearied devotion and distinguished success. He came to this infant seminary in response to what he solemnly regarded as a providential call. Here he found a congenial field, which for more than a quarter of a century satisfied his pure ambition and employed his best energies; and as the result, hundreds have gone forth into the various fields of ministerial service bearing his stamp. In sunshine and in storm, the welfare of this cherished institution was uppermost in his thoughts and affections. His was that paternal interest which sets no bounds to its sacrifices and toils. And surely no hand has been more influential in shaping the inner life of the school. His views of ministerial culture, and of the province of the theological school as contributing to it, were singularly broad, progressive, and practical.

The contemplation of the possibilities of Garrett Biblical Institute kindled his intense nature to high enthusiasm. But his calm judgment taught him that these possibilities could only be realized by bringing the educational work of the school to the highest standard of excellence. This he sought with unrelenting endeavor and inspiring hopefulness. To find out and adopt improved methods; to broaden, unify, and perfect the course of study; to secure in the administration of the school the utmost harmony and order; and withal to inspire its students with those

high ideals which should lead to the most constant, strenuous, yet cordial devotion to their work, were ends which he never ceased to cherish and promote. He could not restrict his interest to his own department, important as that might be. His generous mind embraced the whole work of the school, and sought by sympathetic co-operation to promote its entire efficiency.

But back of the teacher was the man. Underlying his great professional usefulness was a character as rare as it was beautiful, a character whose leading traits were manifest to all who shared his friendship. Strong in the conscious purity of his intentions, he had nothing to conceal. He believed in the truth—in its divinity, its invincibility, its imperishable vitality; and hence his honest convictions were presented with a refreshing frankness and manly freedom. Yet this frankness was joined with such extreme modesty that it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to accept positions or discharge offices which would bring him into personal prominence.

The intenseness of his emotional nature, tempered by a mature and sober judgment, gave great beauty to his spiritual life. He could appreciate to the full the heart-side of religious experience. Those portions of the divine word which expressed the Gospel in its richest invitations and privileges stirred his spirit to its depths. The unseen world was to him an every-day reality; its mysteries were in his most familiar thoughts. And so in his company, as one of his students well expressed it, there was the strange sense of other-worldedness. His very presence was a benediction, and his daily life an unspoken prayer. It is not surprising that death was disarmed in the presence of such a soul.

Respecting his personal religious life his pastor testified at his funeral:

He was a humble and devout Christian, of simple faith and unwavering trust in God for a full and a present salvation. Regular in his attendance on the public service and on the prayer-meeting, he was an attentive hearer, and his prayers and testimonies were marked with great earnestness and simplicity. Quietly, unobtrusively, he has moved among us as a holy man, most exemplary in his life and character, desiring above all things to be a true servant of God, and leading men to love him because of his blameless life and Christian friendship. He illustrated in an eminent degree the harmony of extensive learning with a humble piety.

Such was the career and the Christian character of Henry Bannister. He lived well, and died well; and dying in life's early afternoon, he enriched the Church by his good name.

**ART. II.—STRUGGLES AND ROMANCE OF A GENIUS—
BERLIOZ.**

[The history of genius affords warnings of dangers to be guarded against quite as largely as incentives to high endeavors; and often the most eminent successes are associated with faults and failures that more than counterbalance all these. The account here given very clearly displays the undesirableness of that kind of genius which manifests itself in the excessive development of certain forms of taste and artistic impulse, while the less brilliant but incomparably more worthy qualities of mind and heart are neglected. Berlioz was certainly a rare genius; but who would choose to be like him, as a man? And yet all that is really excellent in genius is quite compatible with moral and social worth.]

OUR title assumes that Berlioz was a genius. That he was such, "more or less," will hardly now be denied by the most pertinacious of his many hostile critics. In the most disputed of his compositions can be found passages of such power and beauty as could proceed only from a mind of real genius, though that they have faults, sometimes glaring faults, need not be denied. Hardly has there been a notable man in the history of music who was pursued by more unrelenting critical persecution; but since his death, his works have been daily attaining ascendancy among his countrymen, so long reluctant to acknowledge his claims, and he now seems destined to become one of the art idols of the French capital.

He is now acknowledged to be the greatest of musical "instrumentalists;" but it was precisely for this superiority that he was so persistently criticised. The great musician is a great poet. For what is music if it is not poetry—poetry in sound—an attempt to turn the very atmosphere of the planet into an organ for poetical recitation and rapture? And this auricular poetry (if it may be so called) is as genuine as poetry on paper—not only rhythmical in intonation, as written poetry is rhythmical in phrase, but, like written poetry, expressive of sentiment and scene, of character and action. Berlioz insisted that, by sufficient instruments and their right collocation, orchestral effects might be made as expressive as written poetry, and nearly if not quite as much so as the scenic representations of the stage. If his theory needs some qualification, it is, nevertheless, essentially true; he practically dem-

onstrated it before most of Europe, and died victorious over his critics. And what conception could more elevate and ennoble instrumental music?

Beethoven confounded his critical enemies by his "Symphony on the Battle of Vittoria," in which (anticipating Berlioz's theory) he demonstrated the possibility of expressing, by orchestral effects—by sounds—the scenes of a combat. A contemporary journal (the "*Leipsic Music Gazette*") acknowledged his victory with some surprise. "The effect and the illusion were complete," it said, "and it can be affirmed, without reserve, that there exists not in the domain of imitative music a work similar to this." This theory of instrumental imitative music, more or less intuitively anticipated by all great masters of the art, was, we repeat, the chief offense of Berlioz—his capital heresy. The critics, who at first proscribed him as a self-conceited and talentless innovator, were compelled, in time, to acknowledge that he was not quite talentless, though an unpardonable heretic. Like Beethoven, he has triumphed, in his main heresy at least; and not a few good judges esteem him an "epochal" man in music, for, in respect to instrumentation, he initiated something like a revolution in the history of the art.

He was, then, we need not hesitate to say, a man of genius. Apart from his merits as a composer, he had the virtues and the vices of genius of the "artistic temperament." He was passionate, capricious, romantic, amorous, self-reliant, and world-defiant; a man whose soul was wholly possessed by his ideal—his ideal of life as well as of art. He was fierce in his resentments, and fought out, unfalteringly, the contest with his critics. But he had a warm and a profound heart, and by its instincts he conceived his noblest thoughts, his best ideals; for, as Vauvenargues says, "Great thoughts come from the heart." Inevitably such a man's life must be one of struggles. The whole career of Berlioz was a bravely sustained fight against formidable trials; and it is these chiefly that we propose here to record. Their lessons are far from pessimistic; they teach, in a manner seldom seen in any one human life, the power of determined will, and the invincibility of right ideas—their ultimate, their predestined, success. Whatever the reader may think of alleged defects in his music, we are sure he cannot, after our brief study of his life, decline to acknowledge him

a hero as well as a genius. And is there any higher ideal of intellectual life than genius combined with heroism?

His trials began with the first revelations of his genius. He was born on December 11, 1803, and was a born musician. His little native town on a hill-side (Côte Saint-André, not far from Lyons) was not without rural charms. It afforded him views of the distant Alps, and throughout his life he was vividly susceptible of the poetry of scenery. While yet a child he heard a hymn in a convent which awoke his musical instinct. "I saw heaven open," he says, "a heaven a thousand times more pure and more beautiful than that of which I had heard so much. It was my first musical impression." Before his tenth year he had learned, in the solitude of his mountain home, to sing "at first sight," and to play two instruments; and in his twelfth year he studied "composition." A romantic incident, which colored his whole remaining life, occurred in this year. On a visit to his grandparents, at Meylen, he saw, for the first time, his "Estelle." She was a young lady of eighteen years, of mature beauty, "elegant and tall, with great eyes always smiling, hair that might have ornamented the helmet of Achilles, Parisienne feet," etc. The boy was smitten, through his whole being, with a pure, an ideal passion—one of those poetic or Platonic passions which not a few men of genius have precociously experienced. With most it is a brief episode, and is remembered as a charming dream; with Berlioz it never ceased to be a reality. "The romantic vertigo seized me," he wrote in his old age, "and has never left me." He suffered profoundly; Estelle divined his secret, and, hoping it would be transient, endeavored to relieve him by womanly caresses. "I hoped nothing," he says, "I understood nothing; but my heart experienced inexpressible suffering. I passed entire nights in desolation." Seventeen years later he attempted to find her, and had a brief yet passionate glimpse of her, but she was then a wife and mother. After sixteen years more he learned her address, and sent her a letter, but received no reply. When both of them were old he sought her again, as we shall see, with all the ardor of his first love, and her sympathetic interest for him consoled his last years. This incident is worth alluding to here, as it prompted his genius. He read with enthusiasm ("hundreds of times," he says)

Florian's pastoral, "Estelle et Nemorin," because of its name; and some of his earliest and hardest studies were an attempt to make an opera of it. The image of Estelle was ever before him, beckoning him onward. A once famous Scotch critic, Lord Kames, said that we should never speak of our disappointments in love, for the world cannot sympathize with such griefs; on the contrary, it always sees something ridiculous in them. Berlioz thought otherwise, and seems never tired of alluding to this romance of his childhood. It was his first trial, and doubtless he deemed it one of his greatest; but, by its genial and prolonged influence upon him, it may be considered one of his greatest blessings. After the interval of seventeen years between his first and second sight of Estelle, though unrecognized by her at the time, he turned away, he says, exclaiming in his heart, "Estelle! still beautiful! Estelle! the nymph, the hamadryad of Saint Eynard, of the green hills of Meylen." "I returned," he adds, "all vibrant with emotion." He sought relief in music. He discovered an old flageolet among some rubbish of his home, and, after distracting the family with it for two days, he had mastered a "heroic chant." He was soon composing duets, trios, and quartets. He wrote a "Pot-pourri" on Italian themes, and then a quintet for the flute and violins, alto and bass, which was successfully played by himself and some friendly amateurs. "It was a triumph," he writes, "my father alone not sharing in the applause." "All my compositions were tinged with a profound melancholy, all in the minor key. I could not avoid it; my romantic love swayed my feelings. In this state of my soul, reading without ceasing Florian's 'Estelle,' I proposed to put some of its episodes into music, and failed not to do so." He read the lives of Gluck and Haydn with great agitation. "What glory," he exclaimed, "what beautiful art, what happiness to cultivate it as a great master!"

His next trial, if less romantic, was to be more real, for it was to agonize his best filial instincts. His good mother was a Catholic devotee, and could not conceive of the musical profession but as implying frivolity of life and the dissipation of the Parisian opera and theaters. To allow her boy to be trained for it was to consign him over to perdition in both worlds. His father was a physician, the Hippocrates of the

village, with a wide circuit of "practice" and renown through all the surrounding country; a student, who had won a prize at Montpelier by a pamphlet on some subject of his profession; a daily sufferer from an internal malady for which he too freely used opium; a skeptic, believing only in theological unbelief; a sturdy character, but, withal, fond of his boy—fondling him as a bear might his cub. Yet the old man had a genuine heart, and was at last carried to his grave with the tears and lamentations of the neighboring peasantry, for he had been generous to them in days of affliction. He hoped to keep up, by his son, the family dynasty in his profession. He early withdrew him from school, and worked hard at his education at home, drudging with him in Latin, and even in the humbler studies of geography, arithmetic, etc. He was at first proud of the child's talent in music, and provided him instruments and a teacher in the art, blinded by his fondness against any anticipation that he might thus defeat his own dearest hope respecting him. He had no theoretical notions of education, especially of the part which the heart plays in it, as taught by Goethe in "*Wilhelm Meister*"—for "*Wilhelm Meister*," like Rousseau's "*Emile*," is substantially a treatise on education in the form of a novel. The natural predilections of the child, especially when they are obviously strong, should be the indices, the guides, of his education; they are the instincts of his heart, and reveal his original capabilities. If you secure his heart you secure his head; and this means the success of his life, and its happiness as well, for does not an untold amount of the misery of intelligent men come from their misdirected education, and consequent misplacement in positions of life? The veteran doctor of Côte Saint-André had no such reflections, and when the time came for his boy to seriously begin his medical studies the old man was surprised and astonished at his hesitation. A temporary compromise was made, the father promising him a "magnificent flute" from Lyons, furnished with all "the new keys," if he would attempt the study of anatomy under his own instruction. This instrument had been a long time the object of his ambition, and he consented, but he went to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed, oppressed with grief. "This decision seemed," he says, "the absolute overthrow of the natural order of my life—monstrous and impossible."

A cousin was studying medicine in the family, and young Berlioz was sent with him to the Medical School in Paris. The father supposed he had triumphed, but was soon to discover his mistake. Berlioz was disgusted and sickened by the revolting scenes of the hospitals and dissecting-room, and was quickly absorbed again in his musical studies. He pored over the compositions of Gluck in the library of the Royal Conservatory. "I read and re-read them," he says, "I copied them, I learned them by heart; they made me lose my sleep; I forgot to eat and drink, I was delirious over them." He wrote to his father, pleading for his muse, but received indignant admonitions to abandon his "folly," his "chimera," and devote himself to the "honorable career traced out for him." The old man became more and more obstinate and menacing; Berlioz became equally obstinate, "excited," he says, "even to furor." Lesueur was, at that time, all-powerful at the Conservatory; Berlioz did not dare to enter it as a student, but was received by the master as one of his private pupils. He speaks affectionately of Lesueur, but the originality of his genius soon revolted from the "antediluvian theories" which he was required to study; and he had, later, to "recommence his musical education from the foundation to the crown." Lesueur, in spite of a sort of affection for the youth, persisted, through life, to oppose his peculiar ideas of music, and exasperated not a little his trials.

Cherubini was Director of the Conservatory, and became his life-long enemy, denouncing him in hot wrath and broken French. Ludicrous scenes sometimes occurred between them. Berlioz one day entered, by mistake, the library of the Conservatory through a wrong passage (the *porte feminine*) and was reported by an assistant as a transgressor. While absorbed in Gluck's compositions, among numerous students, he was approached by Cherubini and his accuser; when the latter pointed him out as the offender, the master flew into a rage, for he had vague unfavorable recollections of the young innovator, and with "hair on end" and "flashing eyes" exclaimed, "Ah! ah! it is you dat comes by de wrong porte." "Monsieur," replied Berlioz, "now that I know your rule, I will obey it at another time." "Another time! another time!" cried the enraged Italian. "Vat for you come here?" "I

come to study the compositions of Gluck." "And vat is it you regard de compositions of Gluck?"—for Gluck was yet little sanctioned in France. "Monsieur," responded Berlioz, losing his *sang-froid*, "the compositions of Gluck are the best dramatic music I know of, and I have need of the permission of no one to come here to study them; the library is open to the public, and I have a right to profit by it." "De—de right?" "Yes, monsieur." "I's forbid you to come again!" "I will nevertheless return." "Trembling with fury," Cherubini demanded, "How, how you calls yourself?" "Monsieur, my name will perhaps be known some day or other, but for the present you shall not hear it." "Arrest, arrest him," cried the enraged master, "and put him in prison!" "and master and assistant," writes Berlioz, "to the stupefaction of the company, pursued me around the table, prostrating chairs and desks, without power to reach me, and I ended the scene by flying to the street with ringing laughter, and shouting, 'You shall have neither me nor my name, but I will soon return here to study Gluck;' and he did so with "official" permission. Cherubini never forgave Berlioz, and obstructed him through all his early struggles. In a few years, and in spite of the master's opposition, he was to become himself Conservateur, and head of the library whence he was chased. Hottin, the assistant who denounced him to Cherubini, became his devoted "*garçon d'orchestre*," and the "most rampant partisan" of his music.

His resolution never quailed. He plied his studies, and produced tentative compositions, some of which won commendation from his musical associates. The "Maitre de Chapelle" of Saint Roch, requested him to write a mass to be executed in that then "fashionable" church, on a special occasion, and promised him a hundred choice musicians and a still larger choir. He worked diligently on it, endeavoring to imitate the style of Lesueur; but it failed utterly in the rehearsals, and was abandoned. "The lesson, at least," he writes, "was not lost." Genius can never dispense with work, though it insists upon its own methods of work; its very egotism makes it jealous of its faults. He rewrote the whole composition, in accordance with his peculiar theory of instrumentation; but his parents heard of the *fiasco* and ridiculed his hopes, demanding that he should turn to better work. Determined to

succeed, he borrowed twelve hundred francs, in order to command an adequate orchestra for a new experiment with the defeated composition; and it was now "splendidly executed" in Saint Roch, and again at Saint Eustache. He nevertheless was not content with it, and burnt it, together with his opera of "Estelle" and a Latin oratorio.

A new trial awaited him. He entered the lists of annual competition for prizes, before the musical section of the Institute. Candidates had to pass through a preliminary trial of their compositions, and the least successful were excluded. Berlioz was unsuccessful. His father learned the result; renewed admonitions and denunciations poured in upon him, and his pecuniary allowance from home was stopped. What could he further do, for to persist was to starve? He returned to Côte Saint-André to plead for what he felt to be his destiny. A domestic scene ensued there—the youth entreating, the mother remonstrating with tears, the father grim and stiff with resolution, and declaring, "Thou shalt never return to Paris." No king with his dynasty imperiled by the perversity of an heir could be more chagrined; but, after some sleepless nights, the old man had calmer reflections, and saw that it was worse than useless to force the youth; that he could never be made in this way a successful representative of the medical dynasty of Côte Saint-André. Another compromise was made, and he was allowed to resume his musical studies on condition that they should be abandoned if, after a given time, they were not crowned with some signal success. He was warned by his father not to make known this decision to his mother, and to escape secretly. But she soon scented it out, and, bursting into his room, exclaimed, "Your father has had the weakness to yield to your culpable projects; I will not. I conjure you, persist not;" and, falling on her knees before him, she entreated him as only a mother could. He believed his "projects" would, some day or other, make her proud of him, and persisted. "Thou refusest, with thy mother at thy feet!" she cried, "then depart; dishonor thy name; kill thy parents; thou art no more my son; I curse thee!" She disappeared from the premises, and hid herself in a country house of the neighborhood. Aided by his father and two sisters, he made a last attempt to obtain from her an adieu, and a revocation of her

cruel words. They got a glimpse of her, reading under a tree ; but, on perceiving them, she flew away ; they pursued her, " my father appealing to her," he says, " my sisters and myself weeping ; but all was in vain ; I had to depart without embracing my mother, without obtaining a word or a look, and burdened with her malediction."

He returned to Paris to relieve his heart by hard work ; he economized his allowance (of twenty-five dollars a month) to repay the money he had borrowed for his mass at Saint Roch ; he taught pupils in music and lived " like a cenobite," in the sixth story of an old house, on seven or eight cents a day, eating, usually, bread, raisins, and prunes. Fate itself could hardly conquer such a soul. For, after all, what is fate in human affairs but the determinations of the human will ? With comparatively few exceptions, he is master in all this world who is master of himself. If Berlioz was not master of himself in some of the ordinary affairs of life, it was because he recklessly declined to regard them ; he was master of himself in the supreme purpose of his life—his musical aims—and in this he was invincible.

He continued to prosecute his studies, received lugubrious letters from his father, who regretted the concession he had made, and had many a wakeful night ; but, after much seeking, he obtained employment in a second-rate orchestra, which afforded him an addition of ten dollars a month to his resources. By joining a young friend, living in the same chamber with him, and cooking his own food, he was enabled to improve his diet, spending on it twenty cents a day. He was now instructed by Lesneur and Reicha, for he had entered the Conservatory. Both were able masters, but were incapable of appreciating his peculiar genius. " They taught me nothing," he says, " in instrumentation." By studying Beethoven, Gluck, Weber, and Spontini—by conversations with virtuosos and trials that he made with their various instruments—and finally by " a little instinct," he came to perceive " the secret relation between musical expression and the special art of instrumentation ;" but " no person," he remarks, " had placed me on the way." He tried his luck again, at the next annual competition before the Institute, by an elaborate orchestral composition ; but a feeble pianist, representing the orchestra, failed in a difficult part of

the piece, and it was declared "inexecutable." He was enraged at the "incredible organization of these competitions—the tyrannical absurdity of institutions which strangle talent."

These successive trials were enough, certainly, to utterly discourage any ordinary man, but it is evident by this time that Berlioz was not an ordinary man. Conscious of the power that was within him, he only worked the harder, studying his models, and making compositions, some of which won him enthusiastic friends among amateurs who saw in his originality traits of genius. He was encouraged to attempt a public concert, including in its programme some of his own productions. Performers from the Conservatory, the Odeon, etc., volunteered their assistance, but he had no little difficulty in procuring a hall. The government superintendent of the "Beaux-Arts" allowed him to use that of the Conservatory, though Cherubini spitefully opposed this concession till it was authoritatively repeated by the superintendent. Some of the performers, having no hope of compensation, fell off in the preparatory rehearsals; and others, who were faithful, were destitute of talent. They were, nevertheless, enthusiastic over some of the pieces, with "tempests of bravos." The concert itself was not satisfactory to Berlioz, but was applauded by the public, especially three pieces from his *Saint Roch* mass, and the journals warmly praised it. Fétis, a music critic and journalist, later his implacable enemy, "himself announced," he remarks, "my entrance on a public career as a veritable event. But the receipts were not sufficient to pay the expenses of lighting the hall, the placards, etc. Still the occasion was of real utility to me, for I saw how much remained to be done in order to surmount the difficulties of such attempts."

He was soon afterward engaged as music critic of the "*Revue Européenne*," and also of the "*Journal des Debats*," and had thus the means of defending, before the French public, his peculiar opinions and his favorite masters—Gluck, Spontini, Weber, and Beethoven. Some of Beethoven's Symphonies had recently been introduced by the Concert Society of the Conservatory; and this was an event in Paris, especially to Berlioz. "I thus saw," he says, "the immense apparition of Beethoven rise above the horizon." The experiment was, however, not without great difficulties: "It was a struggle against

the reticence, the tacit opposition, the blame more or less disguised, the irony of the French and Italian composers, who were unwilling to see a temple erected in France to a German whose compositions they considered monstrosities; redoubtable, nevertheless, to their school."

He was admitted to the next competition before the Institute, and won the second prize; but he was disappointed, for he had been ambitious for the first, and deserved it. The second prize was accompanied with a crown publicly awarded, a gold medal of little value, and the right of gratuitous entrance to all the lyrical theaters of the city. The advantages of the first prize were much greater; in addition to those of the second it had higher honor, and assured the artist an annual pension of six hundred dollars for five years, on condition that he spend the first two years at the French Academy in Rome, the third in Germany, and the remainder in Paris. Could Berlioz have won this, it would have ended, he believed, his grievous troubles at Côte Saint-André. The final decision in the competition before the Institute was made in those days by a large jury of not only musicians, but savants, painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, etc., in whose presence a selection of the best compositions offered was executed in private session. That of Berlioz produced visible effect on the miscellaneous judges; and it was certain a spontaneous vote would be in his favor, when (as an attendant who witnessed the scene informed him) a musical member, who was hostile to him, changed the mind of an architect by denouncing the Beethoven style, and declaring that Berlioz would "never enter a good route; he is a fool, and has Beethoven on the brain"—citing Cherubini as authority. A musical friend spoke out with emphasis for the piece, opponents responded, and Cherubini himself declared that "this pretended effect of instrumentation does not exist; there is no sense in it; it is detestable to orchestral artists." A sort of *mêlée* ensued, the painters, architects, sculptors, etc., declaring that they could not decide if the musicians were so discordant. Three of the painters (including Regnault) finding their favorable opinion denied, so far distrusted their own judgment as finally to refuse to vote, and thus the struggling young genius lost the first prize, though he came within two votes of it. Some years later he published a

severe but very comical satire on this annual farce of the Institute, and it has since been thoroughly reformed. All musical students in Paris should be grateful to him. He entered the lists again, at the competition of the next year, this time with strong hope, for his second prize of the preceding year was a tacit title to it, and the musical public generally expected his success. But again he failed, though his composition was an unchanged extract from his lyrical drama of "Lelio," and was afterward successful in his concerts in Germany. The academicians evaded him by declining to give the first prize to any candidate. Boieldien, who was one of them, assured him the next day that he lost it only by his theory of instrumentation.

Girard de Nerval's translation of Goethe's "Faust" now fell into his hands, and was read with enthusiasm. He saw in it almost boundless range for compositions in accordance with his notions of instrumentation, and published "eight scenes" from it, which brought him an appreciative letter from Marx, the celebrated Berlin critic. But he himself afterward saw serious faults in the work, and hastened to gather in all the copies he could find, and burned them. It was, nevertheless, the germ of what is now his most effective and most popular production—his legend of "Faust." Other and more satisfactory labors ensued, and meanwhile the next competition, before the Institute, approached; he had four times failed, yet he resolved to face the learned body again, but, whatever might be the result, to never afterward reappear there. On the appointed day, while he was awaiting his fate in the library, Pradier, the sculptor, came to him beaming with delight, and pressing his hand exclaimed, "You have the first prize." "He seemed," says Berlioz, "in his joy, to be himself the laureate, while I appeared the academician, for my opinion of this competition before the Institute did not allow my self-love to be flattered by the result; still it was an *official* success which would save me with my parents, and afforded me a pension, a title, independence, and even ease for five years"—and also an artistic home in Rome. Even his enemies seemed to relent before such "pluck" and perseverance, and gave him a unanimous vote—an unprecedented fact.

It was customary to crown the successful candidate, and execute his composition publicly, two months after the decision.

Berlioz went through the ceremony of the coronation without very grateful emotion, before a crowded assembly composed of academicians, musicians, artists, fashionable dames—the best society of the capital; but here again he was to have one of his severest trials. He himself records the ludicrous story, with frankness but with intense indignation. His composition was the cantata of his “Sardanapalus.” In its previous execution before the Institute jurors, he had cautiously omitted its most characteristic scene—the self-destruction of Sardanapalus and his women amidst the conflagration of his palace. He knew that its necessary instrumentation could not be represented by the single piano used on that occasion; but now he was to be favored with a full orchestra. Still he could hardly hope that, with their inexperience in such instrumentation, they would succeed. But he had received the prize, and it could not be forfeited in the remaining part of this farce, as he considered it. He recklessly inserted the omitted part. When the orchestra reached this difficult climax it utterly broke down. The instruments became confused and intershocked. The audience became still more confused. Madame Malibran, who sat by his side, “bounded backward as if a mine exploded at her feet.” Berlioz uttered a cry of horror and threw his manuscript composition across the orchestra. All was in racket—“the performers and academicians scandalized, the auditors mystified, the friends of the composer indignant.” It was a thoroughly French scene. “A hundred thousand maledictions on the musicians!” wrote Berlioz, when he recalled it years later in the days of his success; “it was another musical catastrophe, the most cruel of all that I had hitherto experienced.”

Liszt called upon him, for the great pianist could appreciate his genius, and heartily sympathized with him in his undeserved disaster; and their friendship never ended. Berlioz could not be discouraged. He immediately projected a concert at the Conservatory, determined to repeat his “Sardanapalus,” together with his “Symphonie Fantastique.” He had now many appreciative friends, and not a few critical musicians perceived that what was denounced as his extravagant originality was genuine talent. Habeneck, orchestral leader at the Conservatory, offered his services as director, and the orchestra of the Conservatory gave theirs gratuitously. Cherubini rancorously opposed

all his preparations, and other enemies endeavored to deter him, "for," writes the young heretic, "my impiety in regard to certain scholastic musical creeds exasperated them." The "efforts of some French critics against what they called my extravagant system, my follies, my nonsense, were incredible." But the concert was a success. Liszt was present, observed by all the audience for his "applause and enthusiastic demonstrations." Certain parts of the symphony produced "*une grande sensation*;" the "Marche au Supplice" elicited tumultuous applause that shook (*bouleversa*) the hall, and the cantata that ended so disastrously before now triumphed. The public journals passionately discussed the performance, some for, some against it. Berlioz was sufficiently vindicated, and he packed up his small baggage, and, in accordance with the terms of his hard-won prize, departed for Rome, reluctantly but victoriously.

His dearest victory was at Côte Saint-André, where he paused on his way. The old folks at home were now not only reconciled, but proud of him; he had won the highest musical students' honor at Paris; he was independent for five years; he was to be supported by his country, at Rome; he was to be a famous man, and they were all to be famous with him; the maternal farewell kiss could be no longer refused him.

Americans whose travels in Europe have reached Rome can hardly fail to remember the picturesque "Villa Medici," the palatial French Academy, whither France sends her most promising students of art—painters, sculptors, architects, musicians—for the completion of their education; and where they form a select society, a charming little æsthetic commonwealth. It is reached by the marble stairs of the Piazza di Spagna, the resort of the Roman "models." Some parts of the edifice show the handiwork of Michael Angelo. Its beautiful gardens, decorated with antique specimens of art, were designed in the taste of Lenôtre; the apartments of its Director (who was now Horace Vernet, the painter) are sumptuous enough for a prince. Its pupils' rooms are modestly furnished studios. It has been pronounced one of the most splendid points of view in the world. It stands on a declivity of the Pincian Hill, the top of which (studded with numerous busts of the great men of Italy) is the fashionable afternoon promenade of the Romans, and near by

is the French Ursuline Convent, famous for its vesper music. Enchanting views surround it; all Rome, with its great monuments, lies below, and in the distance are seen the Sabine Hills, Monte Cavo, and the Camp of Hannibal.

On arriving there, Berlioz was received in the refectory, with loud hurrahs by the students who were lingering, in after dinner talks, at the table, for some of them knew him personally, and more of them had heard of his Parisian struggles and success. He was happy for a few days, frolicking and rollicking with his comrades (who mixed, however, artistic discussions with most of their clamors) at the Café Greco (a detestable cabaret, but the customary rendezvous of artists), at the Lepri restaurant, but still more in the gardens of the Academy, where they had debates on their favorite studies, and where, assembled in the moonlight around a marble fountain, Berlioz thumbed his guitar, and sung to them melodies from the "Frey-schütz," "Oberon," "Don Juan," etc. They extemporized there concerts which, at the usual academic signal for retiring, broke out in *crescendo*, accompanied by the howlings of frightened dogs around the Pincio, and brought out to their doors the barbers of the Piazza di Spagna, who laughingly shouted to one another, "*Musica Francese!*" "But these juvenile extravagances could not long satisfy the serious ambition of Berlioz; he had come to Rome to study music; the city afforded boundless resources for the painters, sculptors, and architects, but none, comparable to those of Paris, for the musician. To him its music was little above contemptible, even in the grandest churches. We have all, later, learned what it was from the "letters" of Mendelssohn, who was then in Rome. Berlioz fretted impatiently under this privation. His "spleen," as he calls it, brought on a state of mind which a physiologist might pronounce partial insanity; he rambled over the adjacent country with his gun and guitar, and, at last, over most of Italy. The companionship of Mendelssohn became his chief relief, and ripened into enduring friendship. He was bound, by the conditions of the first prize, to send annually to the Parisian academicians who had awarded it a specimen of his work at Rome; he tricked them again, sending them his "Resurrexit," an extract from his old mass at Saint Roch. The wiseacres (wise enough in almost every thing save music and common sense) were quite

pleased with it; and, supposing it was a new production, avowed that it showed remarkable progress, that it was a manifest proof of the good influence of Rome on his ideas, and of the abandonment of his former false tendencies. More than ever he now despised the musical judgment of the "immortals" of the Institute.

His Roman life had become intolerable to him, and he obtained from Vernet permission to return to Paris before the expiration of his term. He sat for his portrait, which still hangs in the refectory, and turned his face northward to confront the world in the more public career for which he had been so long and so bravely preparing.

He was now about twenty-eight years old; they had been years of almost unintermitted conflict, with just enough occasional success to save him from despair and self-abandonment. And the hard fight was not yet ended.

As he descended Mont Cenis, on his way homeward, he saw the delicious valley of Gresivaudan, through which the Isere meanders, and Saint Eynard burst upon his view—the *Stella Montis*, the scene of his first interview with Estelle, whom he still loved; for all his "subsequent loves," he says, "were dominated by this passion" of his boyhood. He was about to try a new passion which might at least be a relief to the old one, but which was to become one of the saddest afflictions of his life. Before his departure for Rome, the English actress Henrietta Smithson had shared, with great *eclat*, in the exhibition of Shakespeare's plays in Paris. She was the theatrical idol of the hour. Berlioz was determined to win her hand, but was unsuccessful. She was now again in Paris; but the old *furor* for Shakespeare was gone, and the actress was suffering from neglect and crushing debts. Berlioz projected a concert, to consist entirely of his own compositions, one of which was to be an appeal to the heart of the lady. By the aid of a friend he secured her presence. She was profoundly affected by the music, and discovered his design; he won her, and married her. The concert itself was a signal success with the public; it was a demonstration of his theory of instrumentation made by an adequate, "an immense, orchestra." For a time the occasion seemed a complete triumph, both for his passion and his theory; and it was, for the latter: but he had plunged into his new

love with his usual impetuosity, and time brought repentance. An "incompatible" domestic life led, at last, to a "separation;" an amicable one, in the French style, but not the less a wreck of his private life. Another evil followed; before going to Rome he had quarreled with Fétis, the music critic and editor, who had hailed his appearance before the public, in an early concert, as an important "event." Fétis superintended a Parisian edition of Beethoven's Symphonies, but, in accordance with the still remaining French prejudices, he had tampered with these sublime compositions, changing them in some instances, bigotedly annotating them in others. Berlioz detected in the "proofs" these enormous crimes, as he considered them; he indignantly exposed them to the musical public, and the publisher had to erase them. In one of the pieces of his new concert he inserted a sarcasm on Fétis and his class of critics. Fétis was present, and the allusion was too direct and personal not to be detected by him and many other critics. There was an explosion of laughter at his expense, and henceforth he was the most relentless of Berlioz's antagonists. It seemed that the trials of the poor composer were never to end; but many of them were self-incurred, for, whatever we may say for him, on the old plea of the "artistic temperament," he was not only thus far, but all through his life, his own worst enemy. Had he possessed a modicum of the geniality and prudence of his friend Mendelssohn, he might have won his victories with half his conflicts; but he rushed on with headlong passion. He was a born Frenchman as well as a born musician.

He attempted another concert, encouraged by Alexander Dumas, Liszt, and other friends. The orchestra was a composite one again, mostly unpaid, and incompetent for his instrumentation. Liszt executed for him Weber's "Concert-Stück" with "magnificent success;" but other performers failed, and slunk away one by one, till a totally inadequate number remained. The disappointed audience clamorously called for his famous "Marche au Supplice;" Berlioz, in his "consternation," cried out to them: "I cannot execute the Marche with five violins. It is not my fault. I confide in the public." The assembly dispersed and he was "red with shame and indignation." His enemies had now the odds of him, notably Fétis. The receipts only partially paid the debts of his wife;

and her uncanceled obligations imposed upon him, for years, cruel privations.

Like the heroes of the Old Guard, Berlioz never knew how to surrender. He immediately projected another demonstration—a concert at the Conservatory. He paid for an orchestra of the first order. Habeneck, his former leader, declined to risk again his reputation, but Gerard, one of his friends, offered his services. His "*Symphonie Fantastique*," formidable on other occasions, now triumphed, from beginning to end. The success of the concert was complete, and he was rehabilitated. At its close he observed, not without some anxious apprehensions, a strange-looking being gazing intently at him; his face was haggard, his hair long, his eyes piercing, his whole appearance spectral. He approached the young musician, barred his way, and, seizing his hand, overwhelmed him with "burning eulogies," which, he says, "fired my heart and head." It was Paganini, the prince of violinists for all the world, and, probably, for all time. The great artist could understand the genius of his struggling brother, and henceforth they were fast friends for life. Berlioz felt that now he could hold up his head more hopefully than ever; he was sanctioned by the best violinist and best pianist of Europe. Such an indorsement was decisive; his enemies might bark on to their hearts' content; Paganini and Liszt could outweigh a world of them. The famous violinist was soon to give him a still more affecting proof of his sympathy—one that shows what profound goodness may remain in the soul of a man of most wayward life and bizarre manners. He was suffering from that disease of the larynx which was, before long, to deprive him of speech and end his days, and was on his route to seek relief in the south; but, before departing, he put Berlioz on the way to his composition of the symphony of "Harold"—a reminiscence of his reading of Byron's "*Childe Harold*" in Italy. Its first performance was a failure, and a Parisian journal of music endeavored to crush him with invectives, beginning characteristically its criticism with the exclamation, "Ha! ha! ha!—haro! haro! Harold!" and he received an anonymous letter reminding him that he "might commit suicide but had not courage to blow out his own brains."

The government engaged him to write his "*Requiem*," in

commemoration of the victims of the Revolution of 1830. He wrote it rapidly, but the memory of Estelle gave him aid, for he had long before conceived its theme while reclining at the foot of a "charming acacia," in sight of the place of their first interview. "Where is she? where is she?" he exclaimed, as he proudly felt the music develop in his soul. He now knew that, if successful, it would be his most important victory; but never had his enemies attempted more nefarious intrigues to defeat him. Cherubini had hoped the government would have chosen one of his own funeral masses, and the chagrin of his disappointment sent him to bed with a fever. The hostile critics contrived to get Habeneck appointed leader for the occasion. Habeneck, as we have seen, had failed in leading for him at an important concert; he had ever since been among his enemies, and now designed to crush him. The celebration was in the church of the Hôtel des Invalides, and was attended by princes, ministers, peers, deputies, correspondents of the press, and a "vast crowd" of the people. Berlioz was tremulous with anxiety, for he felt that a failure, or even a mediocre performance, would be disastrous; he therefore placed himself near Habeneck to save the day if need be. At a critical moment he caught him in the very act of his treachery, and, leaping in front of him, and stretching out his arm, he led the musicians himself; they followed him faithfully, and the success of the "Requiem" was complete. Habeneck muttered an affected apology, acknowledging that "without you we would have been lost." "Thus failed," wrote Berlioz, "the cowardly and atrocious conspirators." The government gave him thirteen thousand francs, and the cross of the Legion of Honor. Some time later, at a concert given by a society in the city of Lille, and led by Habeneck himself, the "Lacrymosa" of this "Requiem" was performed with profound effect, and, in spite of its great length, was encored by the public with tears. Habeneck sought reconciliation with him, by writing, "Your 'Lacrymosa,' perfectly executed, has produced an immense sensation."

Berlioz was now appointed librarian of the Conservatory, a place which he long retained, though his opponents, in a time of absence, tried hard to wrest it from him, and would have succeeded had it not been for the intervention of Victor Hugo.

His "Benvenuto Cellini" was performed, but amidst outrages from his enemies which defeated it. Liszt afterward repeatedly gave it with applause before the *élite* society of Weimar, and Mayer, of Brunswick, published it, adapted to the voice and piano, in both the German and French texts. Though suffering severely in his health from this defeat, he exhibited again his "Harold." At its close the tall phantom-like figure of Paganini was seen kneeling by his side, amidst the musicians, and kissing his hand. The veteran violinist originally suggested to him this composition, as we have seen, but, being absent in Italy, he had never heard it; he was now too feeble to speak except in whispers in the ear of his little son, through whom he said that "in all his life he had never experienced, in a concert, an equal impression; that this music had overwhelmed him." The next day, while ill in his bed, Berlioz was saluted by the child of Paganini who brought a letter from his father, in which he said: "Beethoven being gone, no one could resuscitate him but Berlioz; I, who have felt the power of your genius, believe that I ought to beg you to accept, as an expression of my homage, twenty thousand francs." The letter inclosed a check on Rothschild for the munificent donation; and no remonstrance, no repayment, from Berlioz, was allowed by the great and generous master.

An affecting scene followed the reception of the letter. Berlioz had been as reckless in money matters as in most other things; for he was too absorbed in his musical ideals and combats to think of any thing else. He was now not only sick, but poor, and his family suffered from severe privations. His wife, on reading the letter, ran bewildered through the house crying for her child; and, leading him to the bed, they both knelt down and thanked God—"the mother," he writes, "praying; the boy, astonished, joining his little hands by her side. O Paganini! what a scene! would that he could have witnessed it!"

The incredible fact was soon known to the public. "Then came," adds Berlioz, "the comments, the denials, the lies, the furies of my enemies; the joyful transports, the triumphs of my friends; the letter that Jules Jannin wrote, and his magnificent article in the 'Journal des Debats,' the insults with which some wretches honored me; insinuations against Paga-

nini; the shock of twenty passions, good and evil." But his debts were now all swept away, and he had a considerable sum remaining; he could lay out his plans for the future.

At this beautiful climax (beautiful by the conduct of Paganini, at least) we might drop the pen, for has not its theme been fully enough illustrated? And does not the narrative sufficiently suggest, to all like strugglers, its own high lessons? But the striking story is not half told; and we remind ourselves of "Estelle," who, though out of sight and unheard of, was never forgotten by the struggling artist. We must, nevertheless, hasten over the remainder of his career—henceforth brilliantly successful, yet not without continued combats.

He wrote his "Romeo et Juliette," and three times it had "grand success" in concerts at the Conservatory. Paganini had gone to the south to die, and they were never to meet again; but they kept up a warm correspondence, and the violinist wrote him, after this last composition, "Now all is accomplished; envy can do no more; it is silenced." But he was too generously hopeful; few of Berlioz's productions were more harshly criticised. The government ordered from him a "Symphonie Funèbre" for a commemorative occasion, and paid him ten thousand francs for it; it was executed with enthusiastic applause in the Salle Vivienne, and Spontini wrote him a letter of commendation. He now projected foreign travels, determined to try his compositions before the musical world of Europe, except Italy, whose music he never much appreciated. He gave two concerts in Brussels and set all its critics by the ears, some for and some against him. He went to Germany, the best land in which to test his pretensions, and gave there fifteen concerts, with about fifty "repetitions." In passing he learned, at Mayence, that a regimental band had been giving his music with "prodigious effect." At Stuttgart he gave a concert, including some of his most difficult pieces, with success, the king and court being present and liberal in their felicitations, though some of the critics dissented. At Weimar they had already performed his "Frances Juges;" they now understood at once his difficult "Symphonie Fantastique." It was greeted with long applause and frequent encores, with compliments from the ducal family, and with "congratulations from new friends till three o'clock in the morning." At Leip-

sic he was welcomed by Mendelssohn, who heartily promoted his success. The published letters of the German master show that at Rome he had little sympathy with the Frenchman's musical notions; but this was before he had seen any of his compositions. He now did his utmost to help him, and the occasion was successful. It won him the friendship of Schumann, and a physician who attended him in an attack of illness refused his fee, demanding only his autograph, having "never," as he said, "been so much struck by music as by your 'Offertory.'" At Dresden some of the higher classes criticised the "*Symphonie Fantastique*," approving, nevertheless, parts of it; the audience applauded heartily, and the young Maitre de Chapelle, Richard Wagner, became his friend, for the time being, at least. At Brunswick he had a complete triumph; the audience was in a "fever" of excitement, and at the close burst forth with stormy acclamations, "shaking the hall," and joined by a fracas of all the instruments. Müller, the Maitre de Chapelle, advanced bearing flowers in "the name of the Ducal Chapel," and crowned with them his manuscript compositions. A hundred and fifty artists and amateurs of the city demanded his presence at a hotel, where they gave him an uproarious supper.

At Hamburg he had similar success. "It was one of the best of his concerts in Germany." At Berlin Meyerbeer helped him zealously, and his two concerts were triumphs, commanding warm interest on the part of the king and his court. He now returned rapidly to France, giving concerts at Hanover and Darmstadt, and recording his gratitude "for the reception he had received in Germany, for the warm sympathy of her musical artists, and the indulgence of her critics and her public." He had made a sufficient demonstration of his music, had won the suffrages of princes and their courts (generally good amateurs in Germany), of the cultivated German people, and, above all, of important masters; he had been tested, also, by serious difficulties and some hostile criticism. One of his critics there predicted that his music would become popular, and, spreading over Germany, would raise up imitators, and be thus a calamity." It has since spread, in spite of continuous hostility, over most of the musical world; but good music still survives.

On arriving in Paris, after the "most difficult musical pilgrimage ever perhaps undertaken," as he wrote, "and which was to affect the rest of his life," he projected, with the aid of Strauss, a concert at the Exposition, to be given at the close, and in honor of that great occasion. It was to be a gigantic demonstration—the grandest musical one ever made in the capital, with one thousand and twenty-two "executants," including five hundred instruments. It took place in the open court of the edifice, and was a magnificent success; parts of it "seemed accompanied with the *eclats* of thunder, and chanted by the tempests." Some of his own most difficult pieces were particularly successful. The audience was immense, and the receipts amounted to thirty-two thousand francs; but, after paying the expense of his large corps of musicians and an eighth of the sum to the hospitals, he had for himself but eight hundred francs. His labors on this occasion nearly cost his life; he was attacked by a fever, and had to go to the Mediterranean to recuperate.

On returning he went again to Germany—now to the south—to Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. He was successful at Vienna, where they gave him a public supper and a baton inscribed with the titles of his compositions, and the emperor sent him a donation; at Pesth, where they insisted on retaining some of his manuscript music, and whence a society of young Hungarians afterward sent him a silver crown; at Prague, where Liszt aided him, and, after a supper in his honor, presented him a silver cup in the name of the amateurs and critics of the city; at Breslau, where the people of the neighboring towns turned out in hosts to hear him, and his receipts were greater than in most of the German cities.

He returned to Paris, where he was soon again embarrassed with debts, and was unable for some time to begin a projected journey to Russia. His friend Bertin, of the "*Journal des Debats*," helped him with a thousand francs; Hetzel the noted publisher, a thousand, and other admirers five or six hundred each, and he departed for St. Petersburg, bearing a letter of introduction from the king of Prussia. He had hardly reached his hotel before his arrival was generally known in the higher circles of the capital, and he was immediately invited, by a music critic, to meet "all its musical authorities" in a *soirée*

at Count Wielharski's palace, where arrangements were made, by the government functionaries, for his first concert, its place assigned (the Hall of the Assembly of the Nobles), and its admission fee (nearly two and a half dollars) determined. In less than four hours after his arrival he found himself in *medias res*, for the German journals had spread his fame every-where. The concert was entirely successful: the immense hall crowded; "the applause, the cries for repetitions, enough to make him dizzy," and the receipts amounted to eighteen thousand francs. The empress had him brought to her *loge*, and gave him flattering attentions. His second concert was attended with equal results. At Moscow he had similar success. Returning to St. Petersburg, he was greeted with increased enthusiasm; and he gave two more concerts to crowded assemblies composed of princes, nobles, amateurs—the *élite* society of the city—"dazzling with costumes and diamonds." His orchestra and choir were large enough to meet the demands of his music. The *scherzetto* of his "Queen Mab" had been denounced by Parisian critics, who declared that "he did not understand Shakespeare;" it was now executed "marvelously." He was overwhelmed by his emotions at this success, and hastened to hide himself in a private room of the building, where Ernst, the violinist, found him weeping alone like a child.

We must remind the reader that while we have been rapidly, too rapidly, condensing the story, the years have been rapidly flying. Berlioz has long since passed the meridian of life, and has painful infirmities; he is "fatigued," he says; "consumed, and yet always burning, and still filled with an energy which sometimes even frightens me." He has been honored, not only with the badge of the Legion of Honor, but with the greater distinction of membership of the Institute. The place of *Maitre de Chapelle* at Dresden has been offered him, and the princes of Germany are urging him to continue his visits to their capitals; the Grand Duchesse Helene of Russia, on a visit to Paris, fairly forces him into an engagement to go again to St. Petersburg and give six concerts, his home there to be in her palace; one of her carriages to be at his command; his expenses both ways to be paid, and a liberal compensation guaranteed. He learns that his music is given in America, that New York receives his "Harold" with applause; an American

calls upon him to urge him to go thither, offering him a hundred thousand francs for concerts during six months, and, on his declining, the enthusiastic Yankee has a colossal bust of him made in bronze, to be carried to New York. The citizens, especially of his own country, are still belaboring him; but though he relishes the fight as heartily as ever Murat did a charge in battle, he longs for rest. He has married and buried a second wife; his son is away, on the seas, a naval officer; his mother has been dead some years; his old father has gone, also, and he projects a visit to Côte Saint-André to comfort his sisters, dreaming meanwhile of Estelle, and of romantic wanderings among the scenes of his first love. "My arteries beat faster," he says, "at this thought." He has recorded the poetic visit with the ardor of a young man. Every scene in the old localities overpowers him. "Thirty-three years," he writes, "have passed since I last visited them. I am as a man who has been dead since that period, but who comes to life again; and I find myself, in this resuscitation of all the sentiments of my anterior life, as young and as passionate as ever." He inquired of old peasants about Estelle; they remembered her as the maiden "so beautiful that every body stopped at the church door, on Sunday, to see her pass;" but none knew what had become of her; they only knew that her aunt still lived at Grenoble. "My palpitations redoubled," he says, as he wandered over the picturesque scenes so dear to his memory. At one of them a cry escaped him, "a cry which no language could translate; the past is present; I am a child again, twelve years old—life, beauty, first love, the infinite poem! I cast myself on my knees and exclaimed, 'Estelle, Estelle, Estelle!' An indescribable access of isolation came over me, and my heart bled." This was passion, the passion of a true poet, and few but poets can appreciate it. It is the old cry for sympathy and affection which suffering humanity has ever, and will forever, utter in this world of illusions. In this case it will, perhaps, be pronounced excessively juvenile; but is not genius forever young, young in heart however old in head? And did not Coleridge characterize it as childhood continued into manhood? Such a passion would have befitted Rousseau; and Berlioz was the Rousseau of music. He left these scenes, arresting himself "often with anguish" on the way, and ex-

claiming, "Adieu, mounts and valleys! adieu, my romantic childhood, last reflections of a pure love. The flood of time bears me away. Adieu, Estelle, Estelle!" But the next day he went to Grenoble to inquire further about her, and learned that she was now a widow, and lived in a distant town. He wrote her a pathetic letter, but received no response.

The old dream could not be dispelled. When more than sixty years of age he wrote: "My career is finished; I compose no more music; I direct no more concerts; I have ceased to be a journalistic critic; I do nothing but read and suffer." Yet he goes again to seek Estelle, and the old scenes at Meylen were revisited with the old emotions. Reclining on the earth with the beautiful valley extending before him, he murmured: "Estelle, Estelle! The past, the past! Never, never again!" But he learned, later in the day, that she still lived, and on the same evening he arrived at Lyons and discovered her home there. After a sleepless night he wrote her a letter, alluding to his early affection and his repeated visits to Meylen, and beseeching her to allow him to call on her. "I shall control my feelings," he assured her; "fear not the emotions of a heart which has experienced the pitiless realities of life. Accord me a few minutes; allow me to see you again, I conjure you." Apprehending an unfavorable answer, he carried the letter himself to her door. His card accompanied it, and before reading the letter she admitted him. He beheld again, after about half a century, his idol. Her hair was gray, and she was otherwise much changed, "but, on seeing her, my soul," he says, "flew toward her, as if she were yet in the splendor of her beauty." In a long conversation she treated him with "sweet," matronly dignity, but with womanly tenderness. She had never forgotten him, but had read accounts of his remarkable career, and had received "details of it" from one of his friends. Her life, she said, "had been very simple and very sad," for she had early lost children and her husband; she was "deeply affected and grateful" for the sentiments that Berlioz had so long maintained for her. With a "melting heart" and "trembling" frame he kissed her hand, and begged her to allow him to write her from time to time, and to visit her at least once a year. He saw her again the same day for a moment, but on the next she had departed for the country.

On his return to Paris he began a correspondence with her, which, with occasional visits, consoled the remainder of his life. He published some of its letters—his full of passion, hers full of good sense and sympathy. Their renewed friendship ameliorated his heart after the irritations of his long warfare, and he closes the record of it with the words: "Stella, Stella, I can now die without bitterness and without wrath." "Which of the two powers," he asks at another time, "can most elevate man to the sublimest heights—love or music? It is a problem; nevertheless we may say that love can give no idea of music, but music can give one of love. Wherefore, then, separate them? They are the two wings of the soul." Had it been possible for Estelle to have controlled, more intimately, his life, it might have been a better one. He lacked balance; he had no moral symmetry; no moral self-support; no repose, like that which the classic ancients attributed to high character, and classic art impressed upon the statues and busts of great men. Like most intellectual Frenchmen he abandoned the faith of his childhood, and knew no substitute for it; his views of life were cynical, and the agitations of his career, and especially the hostility of his critics, had impaired his health, and in his last years he suffered from chronic neuralgia, which "tortured him night and day" and exasperated his temper. But with all his faults, in both life and art, he was a genuine hero, a genuine poet, and, as the world now admits, a genuine musician—a "grand master of vast conceptions," as Gounod has pronounced him.

On the 6th of March, 1869, his hard-fought "battle of life" ended in a tranquil death. The leading journal of Paris ("Journal des Debats") reminded France that "one of her great sons" had departed, one whose "work had been immense," whose "name posterity will inscribe among the names of the greatest masters, the Beethoven of France." He rests in the cemetery of Mont Martre, amidst the tombs of Ary Scheffer, Gautier, Halévy, Offenbach, Heine, and the many other illustrious men who sleep there in peace after the storms of life.

ART. III.—THE HINDU PANTHEON.

ON the other side of the earth, upon a vast plain two thousand miles long and nineteen hundred miles wide, live one hundred and sixty-three millions of our relations, from whom our fathers parted thousands of years ago, to "go west" and seek their fortune. More favored than the stay-at-homes, the emigrants have in some respects succeeded better, and so, not unmindful of our common origin, or the rapidly being fulfilled prophecy, "I will enlarge the borders of Japheth," we of the Occident go back now to tell our kindred how we have gotten on in the world, and to give a reason for the hope that is within us. And while we try to enlist their interest in ourselves, and especially in our religion and Redeemer, it behooves us to learn something of their thoughts concerning God and religion, in order that we may the better know how to induce them to "come to a knowledge of the truth," and accept that which has proved so beneficial to us in our western home.

But in order to gain correct knowledge of the wonderful faith of the Hindus we must go back to its source. To the Hindu mind the classic Vedas are the fountain of all knowledge. They are certainly among the most ancient religious, if not the oldest literary, productions in the world, some of them having been composed one thousand four hundred years before the True Incarnation. Before the exodus from Egypt, and while Job was sojourning upon the plains of Arabia, five hundred years before Homer, and a thousand years before Confucius and Solon, devout Aryans chanted their sacred *mantras*, and their untutored minds saw God in clouds and heard him in the wind. The very name of their most ancient records suggests our kinship, as seen in Veda, *oîda*, *videre*, wit, wisdom, while the root of the word, that is, *vid*, means "to know," and the word itself "knowledge," and that, too, given orally. These books are considered the direct communication of the Supreme Being with man, and so sacred that as early as seven hundred years before Christ it was deemed a grave offense for a single word of the Vedas to be heard, much less read, by a person of low caste. There are four of these sacred books, namely, the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and

the Atharva-Veda. The Rig-Veda is the oldest, and derives its name from the style of the composition and the manner of its recitation, *Rich* meaning praise, and the work is in meter, and designed to be chanted in a loud voice. Each Veda is divided into two parts: a Sanhita, or collection of *mantras*, or hymns; and a Bráhmāna, or ritualistic precept and illustration. Attached to each Bráhmāna is a Upanishad, containing mystical doctrine. The first two are for all men, but the latter two for only the more philosophical. These four Vedas mark the first stage in the development of Hindu mythology.

But these are but a small part of the sacred books of that wonderful people. There are other books which have more to do with the present belief of the people than the Rig-Veda, and furnish nearly all the gods of the present Hindu pantheon. There are six philosophical books called Shasters, two great epics—the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata—and eighteen Puránas, or “old traditional stories.” The two epics were originally written about five hundred years before Christ, but were frequently revised afterward. The first of these, the Rámáyana, relates the story of Rám Chandra, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, in his conquest of Lanka, or Ceylon, and overthrow of the tyrant Rávan. It is believed to have been written by the human but inspired author Válmiki, and consists of twenty-four thousand stanzas arranged in seven books. The Mahábhárata is the largest epic poem ever written, consisting of two hundred and twenty thousand lines, divided into eighteen sections. It is a sacred history, or rather an encyclopedia of traditions, legends, ethics, and philosophy. The Hindus say of both these books that “he who reads and repeats them is liberated from all sins, and exalted, with all his posterity, to the highest heaven.” The Puránas, eighteen in number, while the last written, being composed not earlier than the sixth century after Christ, are for us the most important, as they give an account of the Hindu pantheon as it exists to-day. These books were written for the purpose of exalting one or another of the numerous manifestations of Brahma. They consist of no less than one million six hundred thousand lines. The whole of these sacred books combined—the four Vedas, the six Shasters, the Rámáyana, the Mahábhárata, and the eighteen Puránas—form no small body of divinity. It is safe to say

that no Hindu has ever read the one fiftieth part of the books he calls inspired.

These books, then—all written in the ancient and stately but now (except by the few) unspoken Sanskrit language, a language not unworthy of being considered “the language of the gods”—constitute the chief source from which to draw correct knowledge of what the Hindu pantheon was in the ages past, is now, and will most likely result in, if left to itself.

And first, as to what it was. The Hindus were not always Hindus. Once upon a time they abode with our fathers and the Persians somewhere in Central Asia, probably in the region surrounding the sources of the Oxus, near Bokhara; they then migrated with their Persian brethren into what is now Persia. The fathers of the Hindus separated from them, as we originally had parted from both, and going eastward, settled down as agriculturists in the rich country of the Punjab—the land of the five waters—and commenced their career in India nearly two thousand years before Christ. In those days they were not idolaters. They worshiped their thirty-three gods, but they were spiritual deities of air, earth, and sky. “They worshiped those physical forces before which all nations, if guided solely by the light of nature, have in the early period of their life instinctively bowed down, and before which even the more civilized and enlightened have always been compelled to bend in awe and reverence, if not in adoration. Their religion was what may be called in one word, *physiolatry*.” Dyans (Heaven), Prithivi (Earth), Agni (Fire), Surya (Sun), Ushas (Dawn), Indra (Rain), Soma (deified juice of a plant), were among the leading Vedic deities. There were the Storm deities, as Indra, Indráni, Parjanya, Váyn, etc., and the Light deities, as Surya, Pushan, Mitra, Varuna, Ushas, etc. Indra represented the eleven-gods of the air, Agni the eleven gods of the earth, and Surya the eleven gods of the sky, and these became chief by desire and constant sacrifice. The following description of Agni, or the god of Fire, is given :

“Bright, seven-rayed god, how manifold thy shapes
Revealed to us, thy votaries: now we see thee
With body all of gold, and radiant hair
Flaming from three terrific heads, and mouths
Whose burning jaws and teeth devour all things.

Now with a thousand glowing horns, and now
Flashing thy luster from a thousand eyes,
Thou'rt borne toward us in a golden chariot,
Impelled by winds, and drawn by ruddy steeds,
Marking thy car's destructive course with blackness."

But while three or four gods took a leading place in the Vedic pantheon, it should be remembered here, as throughout the whole system of Hindu mythology, that each of the gods for the time being in the mind of the devout worshiper was considered superior to all others, and, as Max Müller remarks: "It would be easy to find in the numerous hymns of the Rig-Veda passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute." It might be interesting to remark concerning some of the other gods and goddesses that Dyans (Heaven) and Prithivi (Earth) are considered the most ancient, hence the parents of the other deities. Ushas (Dawn), the daughter of the Sky, the sister of Night, and the wife of the Sun, was a fair goddess to whom is addressed the most beautiful of the Vedic hymns:

"Hail, ruddy Ushas, golden goddess, borne
Upon thy shining car, thou comest like
A lovely maiden by her mother decked,
Disclosing coyly all thy hidden grace
To our admiring eyes. . . .
Through years and years thou hast lived on, and yet
Thou'rt ever young. Thou art the breath and life
Of all that breathe and live, awaking, day by day,
Myriads of prostrate sleepers as from death,
Causing the birds to flutter in their nests,
And rousing men to ply with busy feet
Their daily duties and appointed tasks,
Toiling for wealth, or pleasure, or renown."

Let us now turn from the Vedic deities to those described in the sacred books of later times. We have seen that in early times there were numerous deities regarded as omniscient and omnipotent who ruled on earth, in air, and sky. In course of time one supreme, all-pervading deity, Brahma, was considered the essence and source of all the rest, and that all visible form emanated from him. In the Vedas such a being was almost unknown. As Monier Williams says: "Only a few hymns of the Vedas appear to contain the simple conception of one divine, self-existent, omnipresent being; and even in these the

idea of one god present in all nature is somewhat nebulous and undefined." It is in the Puránas that the Hindu finds his monotheistic belief. The Vishnu Purána defines Brahma as "abstract pure spirit;" the name is derived from the root *Brih*, "to expand," and, as Wilkins says, denotes "the universally expanding essence, or universally diffused substance of the universe." The Vishnu Purána contains the following hymn of praise to Brahma:

Glory to Brahma, who alike in the destruction and renovation of the world is called the great and mysterious cause of the intellectual principle; who is without limit in time and space, and exempt from diminution and decay. He is the invisible, imperishable Brahma, varying in form, invariable in substance; the chief principle; self-engendered; who is said to illuminate the caverns of the heart; who is indivisible, radiant, undecaying, multiform. To that supreme Brahma be forever adoration.

Of this supreme god Brahma there are three manifestations, forming what is called the Hindu Triad. Brahmá appears as the god of creation, Vishnu as the god of preservation, and Shiva as the god of destruction. Be it remembered that Brahmá, Vishnu, and Shiva are only Brahma manifesting himself in a threefold manner, and that their functions are constantly interchangeable, as one of the great Indian poets (Kali-dása) has said:

"In these three Persons the one God was shown—
Each first in place, each last—not one alone:
Of Shiva, Vishnu, Brahmá, each may be
First, second, third, among the blessed three."

Manu's account of Brahmá's creation is as follows: "Brahma desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. This (seed) became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmá, the progenitor of all worlds. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought." Other accounts state that he issued from a lotus that sprung from the navel of Vishnu. Brahma, being born, by meditation, commenced the work of creation, his first act being the rescuing of the world, which he found sunk beneath the waters, by assuming the form of a boar and raising it upon his tusks. He is represented as a four-

headed red man, dressed in white clothing and riding upon a goose, and carrying a staff in one hand and a dish for gathering alms in the other. Brahmá is not now largely worshiped in India, there being in the whole land but one temple dedicated to him. Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu Triad, is said to have been produced from the left side of Brahma, and his appearance is thus described :

A black man with four arms; in one hand he holds a club, in another a shell, in a third a discus with which he slew his enemies, and in the fourth a lotus. He rides upon the bird Garuda, and is dressed in yellow robes.

In the Varahar Purána, the work for the accomplishment of which Vishnu was manifested is stated as follows :

The supreme god Náráyana (Brahmá), having conceived the thought of creating the universe, considered also that it was necessary that it should be protected after it was created ; "but as it is impossible for an incorporeal being to exert action, let me produce from my own essence a corporeal being, by means of whom I may protect the world." Having thus reflected, the pre-existing Náráyana created from his own substance an ungenerated and divine form, on whom he bestowed these blessings : "Be thou the framer of all things, O Vishnu! Be thou always the protector of the three worlds, and the adored of all men. Be thou omniscient and almighty ; and do thou at all times accomplish the wishes of Brahmá and the gods." The supreme spirit then assumed his essential nature. Vishnu, as he meditated on the purpose for which he had been produced, sunk into a mysterious slumber; and as in his sleep he imagined the production of various things a lotus sprang from his navel. In the center of this lotus Brahmá appeared ; and Vishnu, beholding the production of his body, was delighted.

There is no god worshiped in India so universally as Vishnu, and in his praise we find the largest literature.

But it is in his various incarnations that he is the best known. There are ten of these, nine of which have already taken place, and one is yet to come. Strange to say, these various incarnations were not undertaken voluntarily, but were the result of the curse of the angry sage, Bhrigu, who condemned him to ten mortal births. Four of these were in the shape of lower animals, namely, Varáhar (Boar), Matsya (Fish), Kurma (Tortoise), and Nrisingha (Man-lion). Then there were the Vamána (Dwarf), Parasuráma (Rama, with ax), Ráma Chandra, Krishna, and

Buddha incarnations, and lastly will be born, at Sambhal, in the Morádábód district, the Kalki or "sinless" incarnation. The two leading incarnations are Krishna and Ráma Chandra. Krishna is the "black or dark one," and is the impersonation of one of Vishnu's black hairs, which he cast down to earth when asked to become incarnate. In the eyes of Hindus, Ráma Chandra's character is revealed in the lines addressed to him by the saint Visvamitra on the banks of the Sarju :

"None in the world with thee shall vie,
O sinless one, in apt reply,
In knowledge, fortune, wit, and tact,
Wisdom to plan, and skill to act."

It may be said of the incarnations generally, that they came more as gods of terror and destruction than for purposes of benevolence and blessing. Vishnu took the form of a fish, not only to preserve Manu, the progenitor of the human race, from a deluge, but to destroy the demon Hayagriva, who had stolen the Vedas from Brahmá when asleep. When the gods were in danger of losing their authority over the demons, Vishnu appeared as a tortoise in a sea of milk which was to be churned for ambrosia, and the demons seeking to drink were forthwith scorched. To slay Hiranyakasipu, Vishnu descended in the form of a creature, Nrisingha, half-man and half-lion. The Parasuráma incarnation took place to destroy the Kshattriya, or warrior caste. Ráma Chandra's great work was the slaying of Rávan, of Ceylon. Krishna came to destroy Kansa. Vishnu became incarnate, under the name of Buddha, for the purpose of destroying the enemies of the gods.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Hindus look forward to the coming of a tenth and last—the "sinless"—incarnation at the expiration of this "Evil Age" (Kali Yuga), who shall be born of a virgin in a humble town (Sambhal), and he shall inaugurate the "Age of Purity" (Kritá Yuga), and establish righteousness upon the earth, and destroy all out castes. He is represented as a white man on a white horse, with a drawn sword. How often has the missionary in the crowded bazar, before a mass of upturned faces, used this illustration to proclaim the Gospel that the "Sinless Incarnation" has already been "born of a virgin" in Bethlehem of Judea, and that he alone can establish the "Age of Purity" in the hearts of his people!

Shiva, the third person of the Hindu trinity, is the god of destruction. He is really the latest development of Hinduism, and is the natural result of its religious system. His name does not appear in the Vedas, although, in order to establish his reputation, he is declared to be the Rudra of the Vedas. It must not be supposed that because this deity is called the god of destruction that he is so according to our definition of the term, for in the Hindu mind death is only change into a new form of life, hence the destroyer is the re-creator. His name, Shiva—"the bright or happy one"—is indicative of this thought. But, at the same time, this change of existence is through a horrible process which marks this phase of Hinduism as full of bloody scenes and dark, fierce passions. The home of Shiva was at Kailasa, in the Himalaya Mountains, and his favorite city, Benares, on the Ganges. "Shiva," says Monier Williams, "is represented in a human form, living in the Himalayas along with Parvati, sometimes in the act of trampling on or destroying demons, wearing round his neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and furnished with a whole apparatus of external emblems, such as a white bull, on which he rides, a trident, tiger's skin, elephant's skin, rattle, noose, etc. He has three eyes, one being in his forehead, in allusion either to the three Vedas, or time past, present, or future. He has a crescent on his forehead, the moon having been given him as his share of the products of the churning of the ocean." Though it is true that Shiva is represented in human form, the most common form under which he is worshiped is that of the Luiga, or male and female reproductive organs. The usual name given to Shiva is Mahádeva, the great god. He is represented as having a great fondness for the bull upon which he rode; hence an image of this animal, called Nandi, can be seen in front of many shrines sacred to him, and on the death of one of his followers a bull is turned loose, after the manner of the scape-goat of the Israelites.

It is worthy of notice that all the leading gods of the Hindus had their consorts, or female counterparts. Thus the wife of Indra was Indráni, called also Sachi; Brahma's wife was Sarasvati, the goddess of wisdom and science, the mother of the Vedas, and the inventor of the Devanágari letters; the wife of Vishnu was Lukhohmi, or Shri; Shiva's wife, the most noted

of all, was known by various names, among which were Umá, Parvati, and especially Durgá. Durgá was a blood-thirsty goddess, and the embodiment of all other goddesses. Monier Williams observes, "that, just as the male god Shiva gathered under his own personality the attributes and functions of all the principal gods, and became the "great god" (Mahádeva)—that is, the most lofty and severe god of the Hindu pantheon—so his female counterpart became "the one great goddess" (devi, mahádevi), who required more propitiation than any other goddess, and to a certain extent, all other female manifestations of the Tri-múrti, and absorbed all their functions." She has a twofold nature—an *Asita*, white or mild, and a *Sita*, black or fierce, nature. In her mild nature she is known as Umá, Gaurí, Lakhshurí, Sarasvatí, etc., and in her fierce as Durgá, Káli, etc. As Káli she is worshiped throughout India to-day. She gives her name to the capital of the empire. Thieves, murderers, and highway robbers worship at her shrine. She delights in blood, and it is said that the blood of a man will appease her for a thousand, and the blood of three men for a million of years.

The deities were also blessed with children. Ganesh, the grotesque, elephant-headed god of wisdom, was the elder son of Shiva and Parvati, and Kartikeya, the god of war, was the younger. Besides these, there were a number of inferior deities and semi-deities, which go to fill up the Hindu pantheon. Such are Hanúnián, the monkey-god, who rendered such valiant service to Ráma Chandra, and Ganga, the deified Ganges, etc., while Jagaunáth, "the Lord of the World," is supposed to have been the local deity of some now unknown tribe whose worship was ingrafted into Hinduism, and finally was regarded as another manifestation of Vishnu.

India is surfeited with gods. Through monotheism, pantheism, dualism, and polytheism, the tendency is to the most degrading fetichism. The people are intensely religious, and they must have a religion which will stir their souls to the depths. This neither Vedantism, theosophy, nor Brahmaism can do. True spiritual emancipation and development can only take place when the True Incarnation, Jesus Christ, shall supersede Ráma Chandra, Krishna, and Mahádeva.

ART. IV.—CHRIST'S EDUCATION OF HIS BODY.

It is the purpose of this article to show that the Lord Jesus gave his human body a specific discipline for his work as our Redeemer. Of necessity, portions of the essay will be somewhat speculative, but it is hoped that the speculations will be within the bounds of Scripture license. The tendency of revelation is to create thinkers as well as to supply food for thought. Christ hinted many things which he never fully taught; so did the apostles, notably St. Paul, who was always in advance of the topic under consideration. Hints, therefore, have great uses.

The fact of this discipline must be assumed in order to explain his office as the Redeemer of mankind, for it cannot be doubted that Christ's body was an essential factor in the scheme of salvation. It had its sphere of activity and service. Within that sphere lay duties and tasks, burdens and sufferings, to which his body had to *grow*, not only in outward development, but likewise in an internal accommodation. Passing through infancy, childhood, youth, early manhood, and thence to mature manhood, the co-education of mental and physical life would go forward together, so that there could be no prematureness. This must be taken into account, for of all influences that disturb normal growth, the greatest is the undue concentration of vital force in one or another faculty of mind or function of body, by which the relativity of energies is interrupted. Symmetry is the law beneath all laws. And, hence, if Christ's consciousness as the Son of God had enlarged in an exclusive sense, we may suppose that the nervous functions expanded, in a like degree, to support, vivify, and express this consciousness. And again, if perception, memory, imagination, reflectiveness advanced, step by step, to their utmost earthly limits, the corresponding agency of the corporeal man would not, at any moment, fall behind in its progress. The law of nature is, that each period of existence shall afford a double basis for its successor, a *material* no less than a *mental* basis, and that these two shall harmonize more and more as years increase, until their sympathy, the one with the other, is as complete as human conditions allow. This law would pre-eminently appear in

Christ, who was quite as typical or representative in physical qualities and habits as in the intellectual and spiritual.

When it is said, "A body hast thou prepared me" (Heb. x, 5-7), or, as Macknight renders it, "Thou hast made me thy obedient servant," more is meant than a contrast with "burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin." It is added: "Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) *to do thy will, O God.*" Obedience is the prominent idea, and what scope and significance it has! Think of the nature and extent of this obedience; the conception set forth in its ideal, for the first time in the annals of humanity made not only visible but splendidly visible; the perfect obedience of a human body to a perfectly obedient human soul. You may go further. The human nature, constituted of soul and body, has its relations to the divine nature, and the two are always in entire accord, nor is there a break, nor even a jar, in the harmony of their co-activity in this one Person, distinctively Son of man, and as distinctively Son of God. Here is discipline in the highest and rarest form conceivable, since we have not merely the ideal union of the human soul and body, but that also in a divine union of two natures in a single personality. If, now, the Lord Jesus was to "magnify the law and make it honorable;" if he was to secure a new moral force for that law, and give it a new spiritual grandeur by uniting love with authority, and blending grace with sovereignty; and if this sublime task rested upon him from the carpenter shop in Nazareth to the struggle in the garden and the agony on the cross, we must remember that the training of the body had its place among the constituents of this obedience. Precisely here, the unity of his reverence for law in every form—law in matter, law in mind—makes its profoundest impression; and the glory of Christ as the subject of law, is vividly seen as the counterpart of Christ as the sovereign over law.

First, then, consider the connection of this discipline with the eighteen years of his seclusion at Nazareth after his visit to the temple. At first sight, it would seem that this privacy until he was thirty years old bore chiefly on his domestic character along with his intellectual and moral qualities. Yet there must have been a very marked effect on his physical (psychical?) nature in the insulating circumstances that surrounded

him. No one claimed to have taught him any thing, and all admitted that his life at Nazareth, from the outset to his public ministry, had been unique. Public training for public work he certainly had not. But that lonely Nazareth was to him a world of its own—lonely, indeed, since his supreme companionship was the infinite secret which lay in his heart. The consciousness of a divine work grew as he grew “in favor with God and man,” never anticipating his years, and never other than perfect, in so far as childhood, youth, and early manhood allowed perfection. The influence of this anomalous isolation, growing out of his consciousness of the “Father’s business,” must have acted powerfully on his nervous system, since the sublime mystery which enveloped his own mind, and the stern demand it made on patience, self-possession, and habitual reticence, must have laid a burden on his nervous system that we are quite incompetent to imagine. If we may speak of the purity of pain, he must have undergone it through these long and tedious eighteen years. Powers asserting their presence and yet unused; capacities opening into wider realms; vistas rising beyond vistas; the sense of wonder purifying itself from vain curiosity, and all its lower and eager functions; this extreme waiting, and preparing, and holding himself in resolute abeyance, and in subjection to his Father’s will—this verily was the initial process in “learning obedience” and becoming “perfect through sufferings.” By means of such an experience, protracted beyond ordinary limits and intensified by exceptional conditions, he must have realized that peculiar suffering which we have ventured to designate as the “purity of pain.” One may conceive of it as the product of thought in its loftiest activity. Healthy organs of body; life itself in the prime of natural strength and gladness; instincts fresh; and yet “suffering” by reason of the reflexes of sublimity in sentiment and emotion on the physical system. Now, this may be viewed as the most educative form of pain in respect to our corporeal organization, because it would instinctively tend to bring the functions of nerves and brain to the support of mind as non-related to the common modes of suffering. Where pain has its seat in the material structure, much of its moral benefit is lost by reason of resisting forces. But in the case of Christ, the law of self-denial and rigid self-government,

of profound silence, of isolated self-communion as the future unfolded its meanings, would be specialized in his own personality, and the result would be an undivided subserviency of the physical to the spiritual.

When a certain ideal has fully possessed the mind of a young man, nothing disputes its place or offers it any rivalry. Still, though engrossing the field of vision, it is distant, so that years must elapse before it can be realized. By day, it recurs in unchallenged mastery over his intellect; by night, it shapes his dreams; but he cannot speak of it, for its very delicacy forbids utterance. Only brooding is possible. Brood he must, since introspection alone offers a resource when communication is externally denied. He must abide in silence, till Time, the supreme worker, fulfills his task. The ideal has now been gained, but that is not all. Far greater than achieving the purposed end may be the value of the discipline in this protracted schooling to patience. And in this schooling is included much more than the mere intellect, the emotions, or the volition, since these are worth little or nothing till they assume their psychical forms in a corresponding development of nervous function. To be of any avail, the co-activity of the nerves must be habituated to their offices, and thus establish themselves in reciprocal association with the mental faculties. Now, this work of mutuality can only go on in calmness, the law of nature being, that in the ratio of tranquillized action is the attainment of permanence of habit in our constitution. There must be time as well as serenity. Eagerness, impulse, restless longing, are nervous conditions, no less than mental states; and, as the sense of time is organized in the nervous system, its demands have to be met. If this view be correct, the general idea may be formulated in some such language as this: *Restraint*, if wisely exercised to postpone the gratification of a present desire and the fulfillment of a more distant purpose, is *an education of the nervous system in subordination to the interests of mind*.

The argument proceeds on the idea that all education, and especially all higher education, is an equable development of soul and body so far as their existing relations permit this co-ordination. In brief, it is the education of human natures as formed by the union of mind and matter ordained of God

to come nearer together and work in closer harmony as we number our days and apply our hearts unto wisdom. The nerves are rebels against goodness whenever goodness imposes severe restrictions on their instincts; and, if this be rightly considered, we may see a deeper meaning in the words, "The *carnal* mind is enmity against God," and find new comfort in the fact that "he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust." And hence, when we think of Christ spending eighteen years in self-imposed solitude at Nazareth, we have natural law to warrant our belief that this discipline was physical as well as spiritual. "*Improved by tract of time*," says Milton; and the language has a deep philosophic import. Moderation, abstinence from premature satisfaction, the stimulation of desire coincidently with the delay of its pleasures, and the habituation of one's self to future and distant aims, are necessary steps in that providential culture, which proposes even now to regenerate, in part, the physical system as the redeemed ally of the soul. In part, we say, "for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body" is residuary. If, then, Christ was "made under the law" of Providence no less than "under law" in its specific sense, we may readily believe that he acquired the discipline of experience and practical skill, whereby he was enabled to adjust himself to those rapid alternations of circumstances that were so frequent and so extreme in his career. Vicissitudes are trials to nerves as well as to principles, and these (humanly speaking) were often hazardous in Christ's history. "Holy, harmless, undefiled," it is added that he was "separate from sinners," and again, that he was "made higher than the heavens." Heb. vii, 26. It does not appear how he needed the training of experience to add any thing to his *nature*, but it is plain enough how he needed this culture for his *character* and its formulated expression, in such various modes, before the world. Discipline is not predicable of abstract nature, but of nature historically manifested in character. Discipline never creates. It organizes capacity into ability. The soldier exists potentially in the man; military discipline takes hold of whatever in the man is suited to its purpose and fashions it into the soldier. It converts the raw material of capacity into the woven texture of ability.

Take a typical case of this physico-spiritual discipline in

Christ's career, namely, the temptation in the wilderness. Fresh from the baptismal waters of the Jordan, he was "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." No sooner had the Messianic inauguration occurred than he was subjected to a series of Messianic tests—not one, but three, and the three covering the ground of preliminary Messianic life, until he came to the final trial in Gethsemane and on the cross. Reverently we may call this his *divine novitiate*. Forty days he ate no food. Forty days he confronted nature in her most repulsive aspects, so that her ministrations of beauty and gladness to the senses, and, through them, her calm and soothing accesses to the soul, were altogether denied him. Forty days he was "with the wild beasts," their presence symbolizing entire separation from all human association; but, in addition, the entire lack of those sympathetic aids which Providence in material objects offers so secretly and tenderly to the tried and tempted spirit. An exile he is from the ways of men and the universe, a "*solitaire*" in a world never before or since occupied. Forty days his body was denied its usual gratifications, and "he was afterward a-hungred." The needs of the body come instantly upon him. "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." The physical man was foremost in the scheme of Satanic temptation, as it was in the garden of Eden, and as it frequently is in our severest hours of probation. Jesus rests on his humanity: "man shall not live by bread alone;" and in that critical moment, as man he will win the victory. Although under excessive prostration, the body bore the shock; it did not falter, the instinctive pleading for food was held in firm check, the resistance was prompt, decided, complete. Observe now the stored-up discipline. The struggle came on soon after he left Nazareth; and hence the basis of this perfection in bodily control must have been acquired in those memorable eighteen years. No doubt, accessions to his Messianic power were made at the Jordan; and yet, consistently with this view, one may suppose that the protracted training at Nazareth, the simultaneous preparation of mind and body for his redeeming work, emerged in this notable form of actuality during the pendency of the temptation in the wilderness.

Probably we do not see every thing involved in our Lord's peculiar methods of self-development. That they were exceptionally self-methods, intense, profound, and exhaustive of possibilities, can scarcely be doubted. Only the results appear. Although this biography of eighteen years—the years when thought was dealing with its perplexities, and trust was maturing into a conscious assurance beyond the invasion of subtle doubt and timid apprehension—the years summed up by St. Luke in the words, “And Jesus increased in wisdom,” etc., yet the biography is virtually written for us in this scene of the temptation and the sequel of the next three years. What is germane to the present argument is the fact, that Christ appears on the arena of public action as a man educated for his office as the anointed of God, and ready from the outset for the exigencies of that office, as the demands thereof grew upon him in their successional order. Here the issues of temptation leave us no room for doubt as to the fullness of the basic development, namely, the complete subordination of the body to the mind; its appetites and passions, its instincts, its automatic functions, brought into obedience to the higher and nobler nature, and sharing the sanctity and glory of that higher and nobler nature. Is it not an *ideal* body in the sense that it did not interfere, even in the slightest degree, with his will and purpose as the Christ of the Father? Physical habits help us by what they exclude and by what they include. Consider what they include. Naturally enough, this is the initial mode of their activity; and, accordingly, while it can hardly be said that Christ's enfeebled physical condition gave him support in the temptation, it certainly evinced itself in a negative or indirect way. Precisely here, the logic of physiological law is met. Support it could not give, for it was a worn-down body after a fast of forty days, with every attendant circumstance unfriendly, nay, adverse, to resiliency of action. Nevertheless, obstruction and counteraction this same body did avoid, and it laid placidly quiescent beneath the ascendancy of his holy will. And precisely here, its accord with the Nazareth education manifests itself, since that, to all intents and purposes, was a passive discipline. So that he himself, until reaching thirty years of age, was the sphere of his own ministry, before he became the Anointed to the world. On himself, the might of

his arm and the grandeur of his wisdom were expended in fitting himself, body and spirit, for his infinite vocation. Body and spirit, I repeat, for this was his twofold preparation; the first pupil of the Great Teacher was himself. Just now we will lay the emphasis on *body*. For, if he was to "take our infirmities and bear our sicknesses," and if so much of his ministry was to be a ministry to the human body, could there be a more striking illustration of the congruity between his earlier and later life than this personal schooling of himself for thirty years, in order that by "learning obedience" and becoming "perfect through sufferings," he might be the Sent of God, the Minister of friendship, philanthropy, and grace, the divine Healer of bodies and souls?

Viewed in this light, the obscure mechanic, Jesus of Nazareth, stands before us in a most interesting light, as one long girding himself for the battle in behalf of humanity. Human history has no such table of contents; only, indeed, two chapters, one private, the other public. Likely enough, inventive art would have reversed the order, and the three years would have been the antecedent and the thirty the subsequent. And yet, looking for the Ideal Man, how naturally this arrangement secures our instant vindication! On grounds of physiology and psychology, the argument seems worthy of more consideration than it has received. Probably, we are more in the dark on *nerve-culture* than on any other branch of education; and if we are even now in this state of ignorance, how happens it that our science may find, at least, very suggestive hints as to Christ's unique mode of personal education, nineteen centuries ago, in an obscure province of Palestine? "*Good*" has come out of Nazareth, and much "*good*" in ways most unexpected. Here stands One against the background of the old centuries as they culminate at the advent; and not only so, here is One who by methods very unlooked for anticipates all our researches and has penetrated the *arcana* of nature, no less than the secrets of God's counsels, in behalf of the soul's immortal well-being. What a mystery lies open to our eyes! We are familiar with the fact that our higher education often fails because of the imperfectness of the lower education. The alphabet was wrongly taught and the error travels on to later life and vitiates the mind. Most of men's failures are mistakes fallen into

in their apprenticeships. But in the instance of the Nazarene, how plainly we discern the value of long experience and practice in self-management for the arming and fortifying of the mature man against the inroads of evil! This private Christ is verily sublime! The miracle of all his miracles is, that this hidden efflorescence, as much a secret in Nazareth as in Jerusalem, should have so ripened in three years that he could say, "It is finished."

Farther on in his career one can mark the positive side of this acquired wonderful union of mind and body in his office, as we have seen its negative aspect in the temptation. Acquired it was because attained by effort. One may trace the composed vigor of action, the immediateness of efficiency, the instantaneous command of the reserved forces of his nature, the sudden concentration of himself on a critical issue sprung unawares on him, and all these without a recorded interruption because of over-exertion or sickness. Weariness at the well of Sychar is mentioned, but he is not too weary to do a great work. Reaction from exalted moods is unknown. Did the Seventy return to him exultant after their first missionary tour? Sharing their joy when they declare that even the devils were subject unto them through his name, he responds, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," while the calm sublimity of his soul tells them not to "rejoice" in their power over the spirits, but rather that their "names are written in heaven." Luke x, 17-20. Immediately thereafter, he resumes his labors among the suffering, and, amid the jubilee of the hour, bends all his powers to the routine of humble duty; and when he descends from the Mount of Transfiguration, the splendor scarcely faded from his person, it is to cure a lunatic boy. Outward contrast was vivid in this marvelous transition from the summit of the Mount to its base, but the recent glory did not unfit him, in any degree, for his work. This steadiness of mood was a prominent characteristic of his mental habits. How was it possible except on a psychological basis? To account for it, we have to assume that his education was not merely self-acquired and uniformly maintained, but that it was perfect—as perfect physically as it was spiritually, allowing for the difference in the quality of the discipline—that of sensation revealing itself in the complementary law of cultured sensibility. The ocean heaves

violently after the storm has ceased from its bosom; material nature will not pass from season to season without commotion; men cannot have exalted states of mind and not sink back into disquietness and irritability; and especially public speakers know the languor, along with the temptation to sensuous indulgence, which follow a strain on the nerves. Many a strong man has fallen in such hours a victim to his nerves. Carmel faded out of Elijah when he fled from Jezebel, and the drama of Horeb was needed to restore the soul of heroism to the man. Peter forgot his great confession at Cesarea Philippi in a convulsive reaction. So it ever is; since there can be no extraordinary tension of mind without intensity of nervous excitation. The quickness and extent of the rebound measure the force of the spring. But here is the notable exception, and "what manner of man is this?"

If our modern physiology be interrogated as to the "manner of man" he was, it would surely answer, that while the automatic activity of the nerves performed its proper functions, the sympathetic nerves, and also the "pneumogastric" nerves, were not inattentive to their offices. Brain and heart were kept in normal relations, so that the unconscious or automatic energy and the emotional and voluntary forces were maintained, each in its respective sphere. At times the mental impressions of Christ were apparently very strong, while his public life exposed him to an almost unbroken scene of annoyance and vexation. But we have no intimation that, at any time during the ministry to the people, his physical state was injuriously affected by these worries, nor that the burden of thought was too heavy for him. Extreme cases of the power of passion to disturb the healthy action of the body, and convert the secretions into poisons—cases well understood by eminent physiologists—need not be cited in this argument. Short of this, however, imagine the completeness of Christ's physical discipline, when it was entirely adequate to preserve him serenely poised amid the petty strifes or the more malignant persecutions that allowed no external quietude. There were great turning-points in his career. There were emotional eras. The tests applied to his consciousness as the Son of God were manifold and prolonged, and, evidently, *he felt the body more and more, with its own instincts*, as he grew older. Yet, first and

last, along with his fidelity to the "Father's business"—the key-note sounded in the temple when twelve years of age, and vibrating on till we hear it in the majestic cadence, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do"—through every trial and temptation, the tenacious adhesiveness of the body to the Messianic work might give a very significant reading to John Hunter's famous words: "That there is not a natural action in the body, whether involuntary or voluntary, that may not be influenced by the peculiar state of the mind at the time." After all, it may be worth while to study the science in Donne's funeral elegy "On the Death of Mistress Drury:"

"We understood

Her by her sight; her pure and eloquent blood
Spoke in her cheeks; and so distinctly wrought,
That we might also say her body thought."

Let it, then, be definitely remembered that the body of Christ, Son of Mary, Son of God, was a Messianic body, and, accordingly, in studying his physical habits, we must keep this supreme fact in view. I proceed to say that quick recovery from fatigue—such recovery as leaves no lassitude behind it or residuary in nerves and muscles—may be taken as evidence of a well-disciplined body. No one can read Christ's history without noticing how careful he was to reserve the night for himself, and thereby reproduce his working stock of energy agreeably to the law of periodicity. "Sufficient unto the day" was the work thereof. He undertook no serial tasks; he adjourned no engagements, but finished his duties, one by one, as his career progressed. No haste or excitement was evinced, so that no needless expenditure of force took place, and hence, when the hours of rest came, he was prepared to enjoy their full quota of benefit. Every throb of his heart kept time with the chronometry of the universe; night was to him a semi-Sabbath; and in this he was thoughtful of others as well as of himself, for he had no large gatherings of people at night, and his custom was to perform most of his miracles in the day, the few exceptions of his "mighty works" having occurred for specific objects. No doubt official prudence had much to do with this usage, since his wily enemies might have turned a different method to his disadvantage. Next to the

Sabbath, and akin to it so far as providential law is analogous in the two institutions, he observed, as before intimated, the physical sanctity of the night—a point worthy of attention as illustrative of his uniform obedience to natural law. For here, as elsewhere, “made under the law,” he “learned obedience,” and turned natural forces into the channel of spiritual agencies.

The miracles of Christ impress a thoughtful mind not simply because they are departures from ordinary phenomena, but for the reason that they are extraordinary authentications of a profound reverence and sympathy in behalf of natural law. Miracle works not so much toward an impression of its own, and as foreign to uniformity of sequences, as it acts in the direction of law itself, existing in its ideal form in the mind of Christ. When occasion arises for him to perform a miracle, he makes no display and assumes nothing like the ostentation of superiority. Nor does he go out of his way to seek or make such occasions. They occur as other incidents of life, every-day affairs, not marked by any exclusive specialty of aspect. In every case he wears the look and manner of one whose love of law prompts him to suspend laws, and, accordingly, these marvels drop from his almighty hand as though he were solely intent on removing the curse that obscured the innate excellence of law by blurring the image of the divine beauty in its external manifestation. Nature was never more like herself, never so like her Maker, as when he restored her faded lineaments. And, in this same spirit of regard for law, he took care that the providential institution of the night, twin-sister of the Sabbath, should have due honor at his hands.

A noticeable thing is that the minimum of sleep appears to have satisfied him. No matter how wearied, he soon rallied; nor have we any reason to think that more nervous force was consumed in any one day than could be easily replaced the following night. Is not this an instance of that equilibrium which goes far beyond the limits of vigorous health, and exemplifies the highest form of the inter-relations between spirit and matter? If so, should we not properly estimate the class of facts now under examination? The theme is certainly next in importance to the moral and spiritual phenomena of Christ's life, and it occupies a significant position in the economy of

redemption. To set forth the capacity of the working human body involves considerations of vast moment. Viewing this subject in its true breadth of interest, one must admit that there is herein a most wise and beneficent exposition of natural theology, which virtually amounts to a revelation of the rarer uses of the body. The uses are economic enough to meet the demands of utility, and, coincidently therewith, the requirements of man's nobler being. It was worthy of the Son of man to do this work, for otherwise we know not how it could have been accomplished. Tell us if the supernatural could have rendered the human mind a more helpful service than by thus taking up the natural into holy companionship with itself, and showing us in the most resplendent of instances that in God we live and move and have our being!

Turn, now, to a memorable day in Christ's life, and we shall be prepared to see its sequel in a night quite as remarkable. From early morning he had been busy. A blind and dumb man, who had a devil, had been healed by him, and the three miracles in one were too much for the Pharisees. Hitherto he had been a wine-bibber, etc., but now he is branded as an ally and confederate of Satan, working miracles by Beelzebub, prince of devils. Then it was that he called the Pharisees "a generation of vipers;" and then, too, his mother and brethren, alarmed at the rupture between him and his most malignant persecutors, hastened to him that they might induce his withdrawal from imminent danger. But his work goes calmly on. A new method of teaching by parable is initiated; parable follows parable, an afternoon of short sermons for a long futurity. Landing from the boat in which he had taught the multitude on the shore, he went into a house and continued his instructions to the disciples. Evening came on, and he said, "Let us pass over unto the other side;" and they set sail for the opposite shore with its lonely hills. A storm soon descended on the lake; he had fallen asleep, but the quiet within him was not disturbed. Higher rose the waves; deeper yawned the hollows of the sea. The oarsmen labored at their unavailing task, while the waters, gathering new strength, were fast prevailing over the little bark. Jesus still slept. Peril was at its utmost, and the disciples cried to him: "Master, carest thou not that we perish?" His sleep was very strange to them—unnatural—even

showing insensibility to their safety. And he arose and spoke quietness to the waters and to the tumult in the hearts of his companions. Do we wonder at the miracle? Ay; but what of that other wonder? Fatigued he must have been in an extraordinary degree, and yet, instead of disquiet and feverishness, the repose is healthy. Despite of the exhaustion, the consternation among the disciples, and the raging tempest, the brain sleeps, the inmost heart sleeps, and the tranquillity is more like an infant's, hushed to rest in its mother's arms, than a man's sleep under circumstances of imminent danger.

Now, this perfect naturalness in the experience of the night indicates Christ's control of his nervous system. The inference is logical that he had complete mastery over his thoughts, and could dismiss them at will from the presence of consciousness. We have known persons who educated themselves to *command* sleep under any ordinary circumstances, but no such case could be taken as analogous to Christ's slumber in the storm. No day of his career had been so fraught with stupendous issues. Galilee had been won over to Judea in hostility to him, and his prospects of ministerial success were suddenly eclipsed. Yet the turmoil is hushed; nature takes up the strife, but nature avails nothing against the refreshment of the night; his sleep is that of God's Christ, and like his waking hours, it is embosomed in the Infinite. Naturally, indeed, the witnesses cried out: "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" But to us, the "*manner of man*," seen from our stand-point, is this, namely, a man "made under the law," "made like unto his brethren," and furthermore, *making* himself an ideal example of conformity at all times and under all circumstances, whether regular or contingent, to "man's place in the universe." Various lessons are taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews, invaluable lessons, such as condense law and Gospel in our best compendium of theology, old and new, historic and didactic, and yet it must not be overlooked that this same epistle lays special emphasis on the facts that he "learned obedience," and was made "perfect through sufferings." Read this epistle along with the gospels, mark the details, trace item by item, and see how Christ "learned" to obey, and how he was made "perfect through sufferings."

Again, it is noteworthy that he is never mentioned in the New Testament as dreaming. Scripture abounds with notices of dreams, many of them communications from the invisible world to men, but in Christ's case no such instance is given. Dr. Delitzsch says: "If the spirit of man, according to its original intention, rested in God, all the sleep of man, without needing supernatural operations of God's grace and power, would be a union with God; and the fullness of the spirit, like to God and united with God, would be reflected in the soul all the more intensively, that it would be the less developed by being retracted from the last forms of life to the first. Of such a kind was the sleep of Jesus. For of him, the sinless Son of man, we read indeed that he slept, but not that he dreamt."*

It is easy to miss the true meaning of facts like these, or, forsooth, to see in them no import whatever. If, as Humboldt says, "The apprehension of unity and harmony is the most important result of the study of nature," surely an inquiry into this unity and harmony as they are exhibited in Christ is of no secondary importance. Physical facts may be observed and generalized into laws for reasons merely physical, and in this case the mind is virtually subordinated to the body. The outward universe, and its relations to the soul through the mediation of the senses, may thus become dominant, and whatever sphere is allotted to the soul it is simply a province in the huge empire of matter. Methods of thought go deeper into our being than thoughts themselves; they are more distinctly personal, and, like the circulating system of the blood, convey the materials of life to every functional activity of the mind. A man is a part of nature and the image of nature, because he is the offspring and image of God; and in this preconceived aspect he must be seen before physical law can be rightly understood. This is plain enough in our Lord's teachings. Does he come to the material world to find parables? Obviously he brings an antecedent method of mind to the leaven, the mustard-seed, the vine and its fruitage, so that the moral, and not the physical, is for him the truth in the fact. Similarly in his miracles, an order appears which could not have been accidental, and must have sought spiritual good as its final purpose. His first miracle was at a wedding, his last public one at a

* "Biblical Physiology," second English edition.

grave: imagine the order reversed, and the incongruity with the end in view would annul the moral impression. Between these extreme points—one the most joyous scene in life, the other the saddest—he brought his almighty power to bear, in the main, on the restoration of the human body to its lost uses; and did he not glorify the original law of creation by removing, in every such case, the evils of the curse darkening the world? “This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory;” and again, “Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?”* In both instances, though so unlike, the supreme end is the glory of God, and accordingly, if certain laws are set aside, the ideal beneficence of law itself is signally displayed. Precisely so in Christ’s management of his own body. The glory of the Father’s wisdom and love, as embodied in law, could not remain a vivid idea when lost to character and conduct, and hence the need to express it in acts calculated to arouse human attention. All law was included in his plan as the Son of God, and if we scrutinize his obedience to law in the discipline of his body, the absence of the miraculous will appear quite as illustrative of the divine glory as the miracles themselves.

The distinctness of attitude in this sphere of Christ’s originality is very marked. It is in broad contrast with the ideas and habits of his age. To say nothing of the prevailing sensualism, the sensuousness of the times was altogether adverse to spirituality. The art of Greece had been chiefly engaged in the idealization of the human form as the perfection of beauty, and to such an extent was this glorification of the sensuous carried, that the spiritual had been utterly destroyed. Sculpture, painting, poetry, music, shrunk from the spiritual as fatal to the function of art. On the other hand, while the Hebrews were not an artistic race, the dominant sect of the Pharisees had so completely perverted the idea of Judaism as to make it consist in “bodily exercise.” In this, as in all else, the “word of God” was made “of none effect” through their “tradition.” Here, then, Grecian art and degenerate Judaism had joined hands to obliterate the true conception of the body, and put carnal sensuousness and superstition in its stead. Christ

* John’s gospel, chapters ii and xi.

was confronted at every step by these evils. To be a Divine Teacher was not enough. A Divine Exemplar was needed, one who could vivify truth by putting it in the shape of fact. Behind the carnality of Greek art and Pharisaic traditions, lay the old truth of sensuousness as a divine truth and prominently set forth in the probation of man in Eden ; and it was reserved for Christ to teach and exemplify this sensuousness by giving to the world the Christian doctrine of the human body. Observe now the method which he adopted. Here is the parabolical mode of instruction ; it is sensuous in the simplest and most direct kind of imaginative action. Here are the miracles wrought, in most cases, on the bodies of sufferers, and sensuousness in every instance is restored to its legitimate functions. Above all, here in his own person and habits, this Christian doctrine of the human body, resting on the recovered and spiritualized conception of sensuousness, is luminously set before our eyes. Asiatic and yet in western Asia with its contrasts to eastern Asia ; Jew and yet provincial in distinction from metropolitan ; peasant and mechanic in separation from the professional classes, he presents at first the more local and race-marks of sensuous life. But, as he advances through the three years' ministry, *he grows away* more and more from his birthplace, domestic connections, and circumstantial aspects of his position, while vindicating his self-chosen title as Son of man. And at every step, as he "grows away" from the past and individualizes himself in a broader circle of sympathies, natural laws are seen in closer relations with higher laws. "Mercy and truth are met together ; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." *Psa. lxxxv, 10.* But was this all the harmonization requisite in the scheme of redemption ? Nay ; sensuousness and spirituality in the humanity of the Son of Mary had to be reconciled, and this was to be "learned" by "obedience," and made "perfect through sufferings." Instance his meekness. It had modal variability while retaining its absolute quality. Now we all know how very dependent this virtue of meekness is on physical conditions, and we know, too, its manifoldness in Christ. Its perfection in him is, therefore, a physiological fact as well as a moral sentiment.

Physical law has its own domain, and should not be confounded with moral law. Analogy detects likeness in the two

forms of law ; but resemblance is not sameness, and to maintain the value of analogy in science and religion we must keep each in its own sphere. Yet, we see in Christ that physiological facts were co-related with spiritual facts ; the two classes of facts were in constant interaction ; and in this sense we may accept Milton's words : "And corporeal to incorporeal turn." Christ's own body was to him an epitome of the Providence over the universe. Its laws were revered, its symmetry of activities devoutly sustained, its unity and beauty never impaired. "In himself was all his state ;" and that high dignity of manhood, evidential of another nature above the human, was not lowered once in all the vicissitudes of his fortunes. Popular in Galilee, unpopular in Judea, he was the same Christ. Remonstrance on the part of his mother and brethren against his course produced no irritation. Patience had her perfect work. The repose of strength, that hardest of all achievements because of bodily hinderances, was habitual. On no occasion was he overtaken by surprise, nor could the adroitness or the stealthy arts of his enemies prevail against him. For every change in circumstances, for sudden assaults, for the devices of sophistry, for ambuscades to entrap his ministry, he was always prepared, never off his guard, never less than himself, never other than himself.

A demoniac disturbs his congregation at Capernaum, and the torturing spirit is dismissed to another world. Shameless men drag a wretched woman before him in the temple, and they cower and retreat from his avenging presence. A mob threatens his life ; silently he vanishes from its midst and foils its rage. Now, we all know how frequently, with the most disciplined men, the attention relaxes, the memory fails, the judgment errs, not so much from mental defects either as to original capacity or acquired culture, but simply because some nerve-cell, or some other part of the animal economy, is out of order. These things seem to us unaccountable freaks and caprices, and yet, no doubt, the laws of our physical nature have been violated unconsciously in all such mishaps. A little too much blood in the brain, a little excess of heat, too rapid breathing, a fit of indigestion, and the wisest of men, at the moment, verge on imbecility. But nothing of this sort appears in Christ, for he had educated even human infirmity.

Evidently, then, *he educated his temperament* and made it a

portion of his character. The body "prepared" for him does not explain all the facts, so that while we admit what was done *for him*, we must also recognize what was done *by him* in the processes of self-culture. This is the more noticeable since he was Benefactor, Healer, Teacher, Preacher, Organizer, each of these an inlet to multitudinous impressions, and each an outlet to its own specialized power. A physician grows into his particular class of habits; and so with teacher and preacher; and, furthermore, a set of habits friendly to one profession is often adverse to the interests of another profession. Do we ever witness any break in the continuity of Christ's life when he moves from one department of exertion to some other? And how remarkable must have been his physical training, when he combined his numerous offices in the one Messianic office; discharged their apparently incongruous functions not only in ideal unanimity but with ideal equanimity; executed their diversified tasks every day and every hour of the day, and compressed their vast achievements within the space of three years!

Nor is it less obvious to one who studies the fourfold biography of the Lord Jesus in the gospels, that he was free from all excess in the care of his body, and never allowed it a disproportionate share of prudential attention. He never strikes us as working up to the measure of his ability. Observe him after that busy Sabbath at Capernaum (Mark i, 21-39): "And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed." One of the most laborious Sabbaths in his ministry, crowded with experiences strangely dissimilar—a few hours of rest sufficient to reinstate his bodily waste of strength—and then, rising up a great while before day to commune with his Father: is not this a marvelous spectacle even in the gospel of wonders? We rise from no other personal annals with such an intense conviction of surplusage in the matter of power; and, what is quite as noteworthy, the evenness in the distribution of this power, so that the exact *quantum* of force goes to each faculty and function, characterizes his entire history. Would it not be well for us, then, to study more assiduously, and in the light of recent science, what I may venture to call the "physiological basis of Christ's character and ministry?"

From the foregoing illustrations of Christ's physical disci-

pline, one may see more clearly the bearing of certain facts on his Messianic history. If he loved the open air and its joyous freedom of life; if he had his later home near the Sea of Tiberias, where the climate was "well nigh a perpetual spring," and the land "flowed with milk and honey;" if he confined the most of his ministry to a small territory beautifully diversified by hill and plain, and, within this narrow area, varied almost daily the scene of his labors; if he observed the law of concentration as to time and place and people; if he steadily narrowed down the issues between himself and his countrymen to the single issue of his divine and eternal Sonship; and if, furthermore, he ended his career just when he reached the fullness of physical development and before the exhaustion of toil and trial had set in; it cannot be doubted that these were constitutive elements in a plan involving an extraordinary co-ordination of intellectual, moral, social, physical life in his Messianic work. Had we been told beforehand that body possessed such a latent capacity for alliance and sympathy with mind, so that

"Sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood and felt along the heart,"

not only stood related to moral sensibility but cultivated and enhanced its action in the holiest of possible activities, it would have taxed our power of belief. But in Christ the wonder is historically verified, and, as such, has an immense practical value, since every principle of goodness and every sentiment that ennoble the struggles of our nature to reach a higher plane of being, not only has its strength re-enforced but its victory over animalism of every sort assured.

Toward the close of Christ's ministry we see the extent to which he carried this physical discipline in preparing him to meet the sorrow and gloom of his last hours. During the journey through Perea, in his visit to Bethany and the raising of Lazarus from the grave, afterward in the return to Perea, then in the entry into Jerusalem, and the incidents following, we behold him manifesting an unusual degree of sensibility. Tears fall from his eyes, the heart is overfull, and his voice breaks with grief. Men are more hostile than ever to him and his mission. They press him with vexatious questions; snares are spread every-where to entangle him; he has been outlawed;

and from all quarters trials and temptations rush upon him; and, meantime, his emotional nature is wrought on intensely. Physiological science teaches us that volitional attention exhausts the mind rapidly, and it teaches further that depressing emotions impair the secretions. Throughout his ministry, Christ has shown how he could withstand the constant demand on his will; and now, in his last days, what are the aspects of the emotional Christ? Probably the most convincing proof of his physical discipline may be found in the phenomena of emotion in this severe conflict. Emotional life in poet, artist, orator, tends to weaken the capacity for endurance. Emotional life in the physician requires that the feelings be sheathed and the nerves drilled to the lancet and the knife. Emotional life in the philanthropist seems to weaken sympathy for individuals, and, in some cases, men eminent for devotion to humanity on a grand scale of effort have been lacking in domestic feeling. But in the existence of Christ sympathy needed no self-defense. Familiarity with suffering did not deaden sensibility. The dyer's hand was not subdued to what it worked in. Hence the conclusion that his emotional life was not specific to any department of his work, but generic to his humanity as such; and, accordingly, that it was the man—not the worker, the healer, the philanthropist—who was the typical disciplinarian of the body, and raised it, as never before nor since, into copartnership with the soul. Viewed in this light, the earthly body of Christ is not merely in training to undergo the sufferings in the Garden and on the Cross. True, every thing points most prophetically to an ultimate present result, to a divine climax in which all this experience shall justify itself in the order of providence. At the same time it has a further bearing. It indicates a vital connection with a prospective scheme of corporeal development, and is the foretokening of Christ's "spiritual body;" the same body and yet a very different body, its identity consisting in the fact that it has been wrought into the texture of his Messianic character and glory.

Materialism, in one shape or another, is now the battle-ground between faith and science. Not a few scientific thinkers are far more anxious to demonstrate our resemblance to the ape than our likeness to the Son of Mary, and of all the logical abuses of the day the utter perversion of analogy is intellectu-

ally the most harmful and spiritually the most debasing. If the doctrine of the human body, as taught by Christ and elaborated by St. Paul, were to enter into our civilization as a controlling and sanctifying influence, what a stride toward the millennium we should make by this victory over animalism! The doctrine lies imbedded in the words, "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual." 1 Cor. xv, 46. Even the fallen human body, the ground cursed, thorns and thistles in its way, death awaiting it—even this body brought more out of Eden than it left behind, for it, too, brought out the promise of Christ. The "afterward" has already come in part, and it is only waiting God's time to come in full. If, indeed, we must go forward to the forty days between the Lord's resurrection and ascension to behold the nature and glory of his "spiritual body," yet, nevertheless, we have a most helpful and precious lesson in the fact that the body of his humiliation was spiritualized so far as to become a perfect coadjutor with his spirit in the Messianic work. Is it not the most practical of lessons to us, and especially valuable in these days? Soul is cultivated and ennobled here and now, to be a future soul; why not body? If the one is in Christ's school, why not the other? The future is nascent in the present, and, assuredly, we shall be protected against this threatened epidemic of materialism if we believe and feel that the resurrection body is partly idealized to the conceptive imagination in our existing corporeal structure—a tabernacle foreshadowing a temple.

ART. V.—RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF.*

PART I.—SCIENTIFIC.

ONE would naturally expect that Science in the hands of fallible men would sometimes make mistakes, and, as a rule, continue changing its position as knowledge grows from more to more. While the physical universe with which it has to do is a fixed quantity, the Science which interprets the universe must, in

* "Some Recent Checks and Reverses Sustained by Modern Unbelief." By Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D. "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh), Feb., 1885.

the hands of finite men, forever remain a variable quantity. Never until Science and the universe correspond to each other like the two sides of an algebraic equation will the point be reached at which Science will be beyond the necessity for retreat or change. This seems reasonable, and, indeed, self-evident. But there are many men belonging to the school of modern unbelief who do not see that the same thing ought to be admitted as likely to hold good in the sphere of theology. Its field, the Bible and the universe viewed as a revelation of God, is also a fixed quantity. But man the theologian, like man the scientist, is finite and fallible. It therefore follows that Theology, like Science, might be expected to make mistakes, and thus need to change its position—now to withdraw and now to advance—until it has become a more correct expression of objective truth. Surely it must be obvious to every reasonable mind that it can be no discredit to Theology to do so, if it is no discredit to Science.

Yet nothing is more common on the part of some unbelievers in our common Christianity than indulgence in sarcasm or derision at the expense of Theology because of its many so-called retreats before the advance of Science. We may find these retreats at times forming a favorite and telling theme with writers by no means of the baser sort, especially when they wish to produce a powerful rhetorical effect. As a specimen, we may give the following from Dr. Draper:

The contest respecting the figure of the earth, and the location of heaven and hell, ended adversely to the ecclesiastic. He affirmed that the earth is an extended plane, and that the sky is a firmament, the floor of heaven, through which again and again persons have been seen to ascend, though its globular form is demonstrated beyond any possibility of contradiction by astronomical facts, and by the voyage of Magellan's ship. He then maintained that the earth is the central body of the universe, all others being in subordination to it, and it the grand object of God's regard. Forced from this position, he next affirmed that it is motionless, the sun and the stars actually revolving, as they apparently do, around it. The invention of the telescope proved that here again he was in error. Then he maintained that all the motions of the solar system are regulated by providential intervention; the "*Principia*" of Newton demonstrated that they are due to irresistible law.*

* Draper, "*History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*," p. 360.

And so on, through some more sentences of a similar kind. We find Professor Huxley at times launching out in the same strain, as in the following passage, which the reader will likely recognize :

Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed, if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain.*

Here, it will be observed, the agony is piled up with telling effect, all to the glory of the scientific man, and to the utter discomfiture of the poor "ecclesiastic" and the "orthodox," as if they were the only sinners in the case.

But one may well wonder why it never occurs to shrewd men that, in regard to such points as those mentioned above, it was not so much Theology that was wrong and ought to blush as the Science of the day. These points are matters lying quite outside of the proper field of Theology, and within that of Science. It does not belong to Theology to determine them, and it cannot determine them. It no more belongs to Theology to determine them than it belongs to physical science to determine questions in pure theology, or to mathematics to determine questions in psychology. Theology simply took up the common language of men in reference to such matters, the language of the Science of the age, just because it was Theology and not Science. Accordingly, if theologians have had occasion to retreat from such positions as those referred to, whose blame is it? Certainly, to a large extent, the blame of Science; that defective contemporary Science which the sacred writers or the theologians of the past accepted. It is false Science and not Theology, certainly false Science as much as Theology, that we have to blame for those wrong views in regard to the figure and position of the earth, the nature of the firmament, the motion of the sun and stars, and the like. In regard to these matters, it is Science rather than Theology that has had to beat an ignominious retreat, and has reason to blush because it had not done its work better. It is, indeed, almost a kind of impertinence for Science to blame Theology solely for these mistakes, just as it would be an impertinence in the theologian to blame

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 305.

Science because it had not discovered the nature of the Trinity. The fact is, Theology in its proper sphere has had to retreat and change during the last fifteen hundred years much less than Science. The Theology of the age of Augustine is more closely allied to that of the present day than the Science of that age is to the Science of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, such pointed tirades as those with which we sometimes meet ought to be leveled against Science rather than against Theology. The guns are pointed in the wrong direction; for the original errors are clearly errors of Science rather than of Theology.

One would almost suppose, at times, that it was only ignorant Christians and theologians who had been so narrow and blinded as to oppose the discoveries of Science in the past. No doubt many of them were narrow and blinded enough to do so. But what about the citizens of the scientific commonwealth themselves? Were they always ready to hail every new discovery in Science, and defend it against the blinded theologian or the narrow Christian? On the contrary, some of the most decided opposition came from the scientific ranks themselves. The Copernican theory of the solar system met with the determined opposition of the astronomers of the age. Leibnitz and other distinguished contemporaries rejected and derided the theory of gravitation when propounded by Newton. When Harvey announced the discovery of the circulation of the blood, "all the physicians were against his opinion;" and very much the same thing happened to Jenner when he introduced vaccination. When Young propounded the undulatory theory of light, he "was hooted at as absurd by the popular scientific writers of the day." Christlieb reminds us that the French Academy "in former times rejected (1) the use of quinine, (2) vaccination, (3) lightning conductors, (4) the existence of meteorolites, (5) the steam engine."* And did not Goethe deny and ridicule Newton's theory of colors? And is it only theologians who refuse to accept the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution? Without doubt many theologians have been foolish enough to reject genuine scientific discoveries, but citizens of the commonwealth of Science have been, to say the least, just as foolish. Is there not an old proverb that says, "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones?"

* "Modern Doubt and Christian Belief," p. 324, note (Clark).

Let no one suppose that we imagine theologians to have always acted wisely in the past in regard to the discoveries of Science. On the contrary, in much of their conduct we praise them not. There has been, and there still is, in a lessening degree, a hard and narrow school who live in an hysterical dread of Science, and who, if they do not hate it, look upon it with ill-disguised suspicion. The mode of procedure adopted by this school, there is reason to believe, tells most injuriously against the Bible and religion, and gives no small impulse to skepticism. Instead of opening their eyes and looking out for the reasonable and true, the sound and safe position, they lay it down as a principle to make no surrender until they are compelled. They meet every new advance of Science with unworthy disbelief and opposition, instead of that hearty recognition which the love of truth and a firm faith in God should inspire. They take up false positions, one after another, only to be compelled to abandon them one after another. And the consequence of all this is only too certain. In the mind of on-lookers Christianity becomes associated with defeat and all that is untenable, until their faith in it is sadly shaken and disintegrated. There is too much reason to fear that the course of action just referred to awakens more skeptical doubts, and makes more skeptics, than all the Science in the world.

Our more immediate object, however, in the present article, is to draw attention to some important points at which the unbelief of the age has received a substantial check, or has even been worsted and compelled to retreat. There are such points both in the sphere of Science and in that of historical criticism. We shall find that, at certain important points, Science calls a halt at present, greatly to the annoyance of blatant infidelity. We shall also find that, at not a few important points, historical criticism has not only administered to unbelief a substantial check, but has even succeeded in turning the tide, and still succeeds in keeping it decidedly flowing back.

When we take the case even of Herbert Spencer, who is spoken of by his sympathizers as "the apostle of the understanding," and "our great philosopher," we find in his latest utterances that a great deal more is admitted than perhaps some unbelievers like to see. We do not say that he has changed his religious ground, but only that he has stated anew,

explicitly and succinctly, what all must feel to be logically implied in his position. The Unknowable, which takes the place of God in his philosophy, is an object about which Mr. Spencer really knows a great deal, and which contains many of the attributes of Deity. This Unknowable—he prints this and similar words with an initial capital—he knows and declares to be Energy, Infinite, Eternal, the Ultimate Reality, the Ultimate Cause. It transcends phenomena, and “belief in its existence has, among our beliefs, the highest validity of any,” and “an indestructible consciousness of it is the very basis of our intelligence.” “Duty requires us neither to affirm nor deny personality” in regard to it. The “choice is not between personality and something lower than personality,” but “between personality and something higher;” for the “Ultimate Power is no more representable in terms of human consciousness than human consciousness is representable in terms of a plant’s functions.” In other words, the Ultimate Power is not personal in the human sense, because it is as much higher than human personality as such personality is higher than vegetable life. Furthermore, it is in some sense true that by this “Infinite and Eternal Energy all things are created and sustained,” and it “stands toward our general conception of things in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by Theology.” In short, the Unknowable is the Ultimate Reality, higher than human personality, Infinite, Eternal, and Unchangeable in being, power, and activity, the First Cause, the Creator and Preserver of all things. When we further learn that there is in man a “religious consciousness” which “must continue to exist,” we come extremely near possessing all those elements which form a logical basis for religion.*

Passing on, however, to our more special object, we proceed to mention two or three important points at which modern unbelief has received a substantial check at the hands of Science.

When the development hypothesis obtained such an amount of proof as to make it plausible, it was immediately taken up, and the trumpet was sounded to proclaim that creation could now be explained without a personal God—indeed, that there was no such thing as creation in any form. Not only did unbelievers accept it as the explanation of the descent of one species

* See the “Nineteenth Century” for July, 1884, on “Retrospective Religion.”

from another after life had been originated, as Darwin held and taught, but, more Darwinian than Darwin, they held that it accounted for the very origin of life itself. Life, said they, is no new thing, but merely one of the forms of physical force, like motion, or heat, or light, or electricity. And just as physical force can pass freely into the form of motion, or heat, or electricity, so it can pass into the form of life. In short, life originated out of mere matter and physical force in the course of natural development by spontaneous generation, or what is called abiogenesis.

But what is the real teaching of Science at present in regard to this matter? Certainly it is decidedly against the supposition that life springs into being out of dead matter and force by any process of *spontaneous generation*. All the facts of Science, as distinguished from its fancies, clearly point to the conclusion that life springs only from life. If we ask what scientists of the highest authority, whom no one can reasonably imagine to be biased by orthodox Christianity, have to say in regard to the matter, we shall find that their testimony is firm and clear. Professor Huxley must be regarded as an unexceptionable witness in the case, and here is his testimony:

Not only is the kind of evidence adduced in favor of abiogenesis logically insufficient to furnish proof of its occurrence, but it may be stated as a well-based induction, that the more careful the investigator, and the more complete his mastery over the endless practical difficulties which surround experimentation on this subject, the more certain are his experiments to give a negative result.

Again he says:

The fact is, that at the present moment there is not a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence that abiogenesis does take place, or has taken place within the historic period during which the existence of life on the globe is recorded.*

The name of Professor Tyndall stands, like that of Professor Huxley, in the front rank of trustworthy and successful scientific investigators, and he is no less explicit. It is true that when he is indulging in the "scientific use of the imagination," and "crosses the boundary of experimental evidence," he discovers in matter "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life." But when he confines himself to truth scientifically

* "Encyclopedia Britannica," vol. iii, p. 689; article on "Biology."

ascertained, he gives his testimony round and clear in favor of biogenesis as against abiogenesis, and no one has earned more worthily than he the right to speak with authority on this subject. He says :

In reply to your question [whether there exists the least evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matter], true men of science will frankly admit their inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life.*

In another place he says :

I here affirm, that no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life in our day has ever appeared independently of antecedent life.†

And once more, he declares "that every attempt made in our day to generate life, independently of antecedent life, has utterly broken down."‡

We now pass from our own country [Britain] to the Continent. As the representative of the highest science of France, we cite the testimony of Pasteur, whose name in regard to this department appropriately follows that of Tyndall. After long and minute experimentation in reference to spontaneous generation, he gives this as his assured conclusion :

There is no case known at the present day in which we can affirm that microscopic creatures have come into existence without germs, without parents like themselves. Those who pretend that they do have been the dupes of illusions, of experiments badly performed, vitiated by mistakes which they have not been able to perceive, or which they have not known how to avoid.§

From France we pass to Germany. Professor Virchow of Berlin is a name worthy to be mentioned along with the preceding. He is not only an authority of the first class, but one who may also be safely regarded as free from all theological bias. His declaration is most explicit :

This *generatio æquivoca* [by which he means spontaneous generation], which has been so often contested and so often contradicted, is, nevertheless, always meeting us afresh. To be sure,

* "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, p. 194, "Belfast Address."

† "Nineteenth Century," March, 1878, p. 507.

‡ "Fragments of Science," Preface to the sixth edition, p. vi.

§ "Revue des Cours scientifiques," 23 Avril, 1864, p. 265; article "Des Générations spontanées."

we know not a single positive fact to prove that a *generatio æquivoca* has ever been made, that inorganic masses—such as the firm of Carbon & Co.—have ever spontaneously developed themselves into organic masses. No one has ever seen a *generatio æquivoca* effected; and whoever supposes that it has occurred is contradicted by the naturalist, and not merely by the theologian. . . . We must acknowledge that it has not yet been proved.*

Our space does not permit us to adduce more testimonies. Nor is it necessary; for the preceding are quite sufficient to show the exact state of the case in the estimation of scientific men of the very highest rank, who are at the same time quite free from all theological bias. The chasm between the inorganic and the organic, the lifeless and the living, is not yet bridged over. But what follows from this according to Strauss? He says:

So long as we regard the contrast between the inorganic and the organic—lifeless and living nature—as an absolute one—so long as we hold fast to the conception of a special vital power—it is impossible to get over the chasm without miracle.†

Another most important point at which the hypothesis of merely natural evolution has received a check is in regard to the *time* requisite for the necessities of the case. It demands countless millions of years for its operation. But, according to our highest physicists, such countless millions of years cannot possibly be allowed. Professor Tait of Edinburgh, speaking in regard to this point, says:

The subject [how long the earth has been habitable for plants and animals] has been taken up very carefully within the last few years by Sir William Thomson. . . . He divides his argument upon it into three heads. The first is an argument from the internal heat of the earth; the second is from the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation; and the third is from the sun's temperature. . . . Each of these arguments is quite independent of the

* "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State," pp. 36, ff., second edition.

† "Der alte und der neue Glaube," p. 174. In the original Strauss uses the past tense in the above quotation. Why? Because at the time he wrote, *Bathybius* was the popular catchword—*Bathybius* which Professors Huxley and Hæckel regarded as offering a possible explanation of life. Desperate men will catch at straws, and so Strauss grasped at *Bathybius*; and thinking that the physical theory of life was now demonstrated, he wrote in the past tense. But we now know that the explanation of the origin of life by *Bathybius* is, to use a word which Strauss has made famous, a *myth*. Hence we feel warranted in translating in the present tense.

other two, and is—for all tend to something about the same—to the effect that ten millions of years is about the utmost that can be allowed, from the physical point of view, for all the changes that have taken place on the earth's surface since vegetable life of the lowest form was capable of existing here. . . . I dare say many of you are acquainted with the speculations of Lyell and others, especially of Darwin, who tell us that even for a comparatively brief portion of recent geological history three hundred millions of years will not suffice! . . . Physical considerations from various independent points of view render it utterly impossible that more than ten or fifteen millions of years can be granted.*

Here we have the results at which Sir William Thomson has arrived, and in which both he and Professor Tait, two of our foremost mathematical physicists, concur. It is true that Dr. Croll questions the exact trustworthiness of some of Sir William's calculations, but he himself says:

The general conclusion to which we are therefore led from physical considerations regarding the age of the sun's heat is, that the entire geological history of our globe must be comprised within less than one hundred millions of years.†

Darwin felt and acknowledged this "formidable objection," and apparently has no solution to offer except the supposition of "violent changes, causing a more rapid rate of development."‡

We might also draw attention with effect to the fact that *infertility between distinct species* still stands as a difficult barrier in the way of the hypothesis of mere natural evolution. Even after all the influence and care of man in producing different varieties, some of them very unlike the originals, he has never yet succeeded in producing from any of the higher species a new species which can stand the test of continued infertility in the attempt at inter-breeding with the original. Mr. Darwin does not profess that this has ever been attained in regard to any of the higher species; and Professor Huxley frankly says:

It is our clear conviction that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characters exhibited by species in nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural. . . . There is no positive evidence, at present, that any group of animals has, by variation and selective breeding, given rise to another group which was even in the least degree infertile with the first.

* "Recent Advances in Physical Science," pp. 165, ff.

† "Climate and Time," p. 355. ‡ "Origin of Species," p. 286, sixth edition.

And he speaks of this as the "little rift within the lute," which is not to be disguised or overlooked." *

We pass on, however, to another point, closely connected with the above, at which modern unbelief has met with a decided check at the hands of Science. We refer to the *origin of man*. It was fondly hoped by many, believed by not a few, and even loudly proclaimed by some, that man was merely a natural and chance development out of the ape, or some other lower animal. There are not a few who hold that this is the true origin of man, and that to speak of him as being in any true sense created by God, or in the image of God, is a delusion. There is no divine or immortal spirit in him; he is merely an animal of the higher and luckier kind, only of the earth, earthy. Of course they have not found out the "missing link" bridging over the chasm between man and the ape; but they have always been ready to proclaim, on each new discovery of a human skull, that here was the necessary link, the immediate progenitor of man. "Every body who found a skull in a cave, or a bone in the fissure of a rock, thought he had got a bit of him." Professor Hæckel has actually gone so far as to fill up the yawning gap out of his imagination, and even to give the imaginary creature a name, and the name is *Alalus*!

There are two capital facts from which this view of the descent of man has received a check. One is the fact of the vast distance between the brain of man and that of the nearest apes. It is acknowledged that natural evolution proceeds only by infinitesimal variations. Mr. Darwin himself says: "Natural selection can never take a great and sudden leap, but must advance by short and sure, though slow, steps." † Now, speaking in a general way, the brain-mass of man is about three times that of the highest anthropoid ape. To quote from Mr. A. R. Wallace:

The collections of Dr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Morton give the following as the average internal capacity of the cranium in the chief races: Teutonic family, 94 cubic inches; Esquimaux, 91 cubic inches; Negroes, 85 cubic inches; Australians and Tasmanians, 82 cubic inches; Bushmen, 77 cubic inches. . . . The adult male orang-outang is quite as bulky as a small-sized man, while the gorilla is considerably above the average size of man,

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 323.

† "Origin of Species," p. 156.

as estimated by bulk and weight; yet the former has a brain of only 28 cubic inches; the latter, one of 30, or, in the largest specimens yet known, of $34\frac{1}{2}$ cubic inches. We have seen that the average cranial capacity of the lowest savages is probably not less than *five sixths* of that of the highest civilized races, while the brain of the anthropoid apes scarcely amounts to *one third* that of man, in both cases taking the average; or the proportions may be more clearly represented by the following figures: anthropoid apes, 10; savages, 26; civilized man, 32.*

Where, then, is the possibility of this great chasm being leaped over by that law of natural selection which "can never take a leap?" It is brought to a direct halt by the impassable chasm, as the mountain-climber at times finds his course over the glacier suddenly arrested by some tremendous crevasse.

But when the climber comes upon an impassable chasm he can occasionally find a way over it by walking far enough along the side. May it not be the same here? Scientific men answer as yet with an emphatic No; and this is the second capital fact to which we referred. On the one side we have the human race, and on the other side the anthropoid apes, and between them a chasm deep and wide, which no mere evolution can leap over. But when we travel along the human side of this chasm, away into the dim ages of the past, we nowhere find a bridge, scarcely even an approach of the two opposite sides. The chasm remains substantially the same, equally deep and wide, and equally mysterious and impassable all the way along. In other words, when we travel back to the remotest ages, we find that man was then possessed of the same brain-mass as at present, and there is no real indication of approximation to the ape. Between the two there still remains the same great gulf fixed. On this point Mr. Wallace is also very explicit:

The few remains yet known of pre-historic man do not indicate any material diminution in the size of the brain-case. A Swiss skull of the stone age, found in the lake dwelling of Meilen, corresponded exactly to that of a Swiss youth of the present day. The celebrated Neanderthal skull had a larger circumference than the average; and its capacity, indicating actual mass of brain, is estimated to have been not less than seventy-five cubic inches, or nearly the average of existing Australian crania. The Engis skull, perhaps the oldest known, and which, according to Sir John

* "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," p. 338, second edition.

Lubbock, "there seems no doubt was really contemporary with the mammoth and the cave-bear," is yet, according to Professor Huxley, "a fair average skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage." Of the cave men of Les Eyzies, who were undoubtedly contemporary with the reindeer in the south of France, Professor Paul Broca says: "The great capacity of the brain, the development of the frontal region, the fine elliptical form of the anterior part of the profile of the skull, are incontestable characteristics of superiority, such as we are accustomed to meet with in civilized races."*

Professor Virchow is no less explicit. He says:

When we study the fossil man of the quaternary period, who must, of course, have stood comparatively near to our primitive ancestors in the order of descent, or rather ascent, we find always a *man*, just such men as are now. . . . The old troglodytes, pile-villagers, and bog-people prove to be quite a respectable society. They have heads so large that many a living person would only be too happy to possess such. . . . Nay, if we gather together the whole sum of the fossil men hitherto known, and put them parallel with those of the present time, we can decidedly pronounce that there are among living men a much larger number of individuals who show a relatively inferior type than there are among the fossils known up to this time. . . . Every addition to the amount of objects which we have attained as materials for discussion has removed us farther from the hypothesis propounded.†

We may add the following from Professor Du Bois-Reymond, also of Berlin University:

At a certain period of the development of life on the globe, an epoch of which we do not know the date, there arose a thing new and hitherto unheard of, a thing incomprehensible as the essence of matter and force. The thread of our intelligence of nature, which mounts up to that infinitely distant time, is broken, and we find ourselves face to face with an impassable abyss. That new and incomprehensible phenomenon is thought.‡

The outcome of all this obviously is, that, so far as matters go at present, natural evolution is brought to a complete halt at the edge of the impassable gulf which stretches along between man and the ape all the way throughout the ages.

We close this department of our subject with briefly mentioning one other point where Science administers a check to

* Wallace, "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," pp. 336, f.

† "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State," p. 63.

‡ "La Revue scientifique," 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

the grosser infidelity. We refer to the *materialistic explanation of consciousness and thought*. It may be granted that thought and feeling are accompanied with molecular action in the brain, but we cannot write the two things over against each other as equivalents. The highest scientific authorities are quite clear and emphatic that the two things are utterly incommensurable, and that there is no conceivable translation from the one into the other. In other words, the purely materialistic explanation of thought is as utterly unthinkable as ever. "The passage," says Professor Tyndall, "from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is inconceivable as a result of mechanics." Even were our minds and senses vastly "expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, the chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable." "In reality [the molecular groupings and motions] explain nothing. The utmost [the materialist] can affirm is the association of two classes of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance. The problem of the connection of body and soul is as insoluble, in its modern form, as it was in the pre-scientific ages."*

Du Bois-Reymond is equally plain. We might refer to the quotation given in the preceding paragraph; but we may be allowed to add the following:

What conceivable connection subsists between definite movements of definite atoms in my brain on the one hand, and on the other hand such primordial, indefinable, undeniable facts as these: "I feel pain or pleasure; I experience a sweet taste, or smell a rose, or hear an organ, or see something red?" . . . It is absolutely and forever inconceivable that a number of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen atoms should be otherwise than indifferent as to their own position and motion, past, present, or future. It is utterly inconceivable how consciousness should result from their joint action.†

Elsewhere he says, most emphatically, "that not only in the present state of our knowledge is thought not explicable by means of its material conditions, but from the nature of things it will never be."‡

* "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, pp. 87, f.

† Quoted in Tyndall's "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, pp. 228, f.

‡ "La Revue scientifique," 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

ART. VI.—THE DANGER OF APOSTASY.

Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαξ φωτισθέντας γευσάμενους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γεννηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ καλὸν γευσάμενους θεοῦ ῥῆμα δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας. Τῇ γὰρ ἡ πούσα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενον πολλάκις ἑαυτὴν, καὶ τίκονσα βοτάνην εἶθετον ἐκείνοις δι' οὓς καὶ γεωργεῖται, μεταλαμβάνει εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκφέρουσα δὲ ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀδόκιμος καὶ κατάραι ἐγγύς, ἥς τὸ τέλος εἰς καὶσιν.—Hebrews vi, 4-8.

For as touching those who were once enlightened and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come, and then fell away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. For the land which hath drunk the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whose sake it is also tilled, receiveth blessing from God: but if it beareth thorns and thistles, it is rejected and nigh unto a curse; whose end is to be burned.—*Revised Version.*

Ἐκουσίως γὰρ ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, οἰκνέει περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολείπεται θυσία, φοβερὰ δὲ τις ἐκδοχὴ κρίσεως καὶ πυρὸς ζήλος ἐσθιέν ἡμῶν τοῖς ὑπεραντίοις. ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωσέως χωρὶς οἰκτιρῶν ἐπὶ θεσιν ἢ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν ἀποθήσκει· πόσω δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καταπατήσας, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος ἐν ᾧ ἡγιασθή, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας. οἶδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα. Ἐμοὶ ἐκδοκίσεις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω καὶ πάλιν Κρίνει Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεισεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος. Hebrews x, 26-31.

For if we sin willfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. A man that hath set at naught Moses's law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? For we know him that said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense. And again, The Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.—*Revised Version.*

THE two passages given above, the latter being simply a duplicate of the former, with only slight variations, are at once important and difficult. They have been the subject of an untold amount of learned discussion, criticism, and word-twisting, and about them have been fought some of the severest battles recorded in the annals of theological and biblical polemics; and the end is not yet. Our limits forbid us to attempt even an outline of the history of these conflicts, and we must be content with only brief references, and concise presentations of some of the many interpretations that have been offered of the

words and forms of expression found in the above quoted passages, and with the statement of the conclusions to which they seem to lead.

To the unsophisticated reader these passages, at their first reading, would suggest the thought that their author saw a very great danger, against which he desired to warn those whom he addressed; that this danger was *real*, and not simply apparent, and that its visitation would be of the most fearful character; and also, that the realization of these deprecated evils was contingent and capable of being avoided. As a lesson of Christian instruction and admonition, it seems, at first sight, to assume that those to whom the warnings were addressed had attained to the conditions and relations first indicated, which they are earnestly exhorted to maintain; and in all this there is a natural implication that there is a fearful possibility of failure, and that the consequences of coming short would be a complete and final loss of the contemplated blessings, assured to them that continue to the end.

Probably the difficulties that have appeared to some minds in these passages would not have seemed especially formidable but for their bearing upon certain points of dogmatic theology; and were those dogmas entirely out of the way, the interpretation of the language of the epistle would be quite obvious. It is no doubt allowable to concede something to the "analogy of the faith" in the interpretation of Scripture; not, however, to conform the obvious sense of the word to creeds and doctrines of men's invention, but simply to harmonize the teachings of the various portions of the word of God with themselves. Every true critic or exegete, seeking only to know what is the real sense of the written word, is aware of the blinding and perverting influence of dogmatic prepossessions, and these are especially troublesome when any favorite dogma, which is also an essential element of a theological system, becomes an effective factor in some problem of interpretation. Among the valuable results of the rational (not rationalistic) methods of modern criticism is the assertion and acceptance of the maxim that dogma is always subordinate to Scripture, and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the language of the Bible should always be preferred, and, indeed, never given up except as required by the still clearer teachings of

other portions of the inspired word. Scripture may be interpreted by Scripture, but never by dogmas.

The application of this rule to the case in hand would no doubt very greatly mitigate its difficulties, and possibly it would make plain and easily intelligible all of its seeming obscurities and contradictions. But this can be done only at the expense of the symmetry of some of the famous creeds of Christendom.

The doctrine known and designated as "the perseverance of the saints" declares that a person who has been truly regenerated cannot, by any possibility, fail of eternal salvation; that "they whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved."—*Westminster Confession*. The man in whom that dogma has become entrenched, coming to the interpretation of the passages at the head of this paper, finds himself at once confronted with statements and implications that he cannot accept. He is therefore forced into a process of "hedging," and of exegetical maneuverings, if possible, to make the words and sentences here used mean something different from their first and most obvious sense. Probably no other portion of Scripture has ever given so much occasion to this kind of learned legerdemain. Evidently this doctrine of "perseverance" is a very great favorite, and is earnestly cherished by some who hold, rather loosely, some of the sterner doctrines of the more comprehensive system of which it is an integral part. It is very comfortable, when one has long been living without any recent assurance of the divine favor, to remember former experiences, and because of them to conclude that all will be well at last. It is said that Cromwell, when he saw that he was nearing his end, asked his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, whether if a man had once been truly converted he could be finally lost, and having been assured that he certainly could not, he replied, "Then I am safe, for I know that I was once a child of God." Probably not many persons meet this case with such honest bluntness; but quite certainly not a few reason in the same way.

The doctrine of "perseverance"—that it is impossible for a converted person to fall away from Christ and be lost—is an

integral and inseparable part of the more extended system of absolute and unconditional predestination, which embodies the doctrine of the "divine decrees," the election of some to eternal life, and the absolutely certain dooming of all others to eternal death, and all because of God's good pleasure. The salvation of the elect being decreed, their effectual calling, regeneration, sanctification, and eternal glorification follow of course and necessarily, as the unfoldings of an eternal purpose. This system has the advantages of complete unity and of logical consistency of its parts, which are so closely compacted that the whole and all its parts must stand or fall together; but its first principles are not derived from the divine word, and its final outcome is too horrible to be accepted for a moment. The result reached by the sternest predestinarians is no doubt the only logical one after accepting the dogma of unconditional grace, and consequently of the indefectibility of the divine life in the soul. They are *monergists*, asserting that God alone performs in man the work of salvation, and that human agency is not admitted as a condition either to assure or defeat the purposes of almighty goodness; and that having begun the good work, he will never cease till it shall be completed in eternal salvation. Accordingly, it will not do to understand the strong expressions found in the passages before us as indicating any thing conditional in respect to personal salvation in Christ. And so in order to get rid of the plain meanings of these words and phrases has seemed to be the great business of many who have undertaken their exposition.

The manifest design of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to dissuade those to whom it is addressed from abandoning the profession of the Gospel, and going back again to Judaism. In doing this the writer examines the claims set forth by Christ, and by others for him, to be the promised and expected Messiah, the divinely ordained Priest of the better covenant, of which things the Levitical priesthood and the Sinaitic covenant were only shadows and prophetic symbols. And mingled with these arguments, and also coming after them, are the most earnest warnings and cogent entreaties, enforced by considerations of the fearful dangers that would be risked in the deprecated apostasy. Respecting the nature of the evils that must result from so doing, it is agreed by all that they would involve

the complete perdition of those who might experience them, for language could scarcely be rendered more direct and fearfully significant. The thought that is evidently present to the mind of the inspired writer is, such a form of apostasy from Christ as must involve its subject in complete and irretrievable spiritual ruin.

But who are the persons here spoken of as liable to this great danger, and what are their actual relations to Christ and the Gospel? Were they Christians, who had personally believed, and received in their own hearts the gifts of the Spirit, as seems to be implied in the language used? and if so, wherein consisted their danger? But because there are clear intimations in the words of the epistles that those addressed were in danger of utter perdition, the attempt is made with remarkable earnestness and persistence to show that they never had been truly converted. The desperateness of this attempt is, however, too obvious to escape attention, and the evidence that it is made under the stress of dogmatic necessity is manifest.

The persons in question had been "enlightened"—of course, by the Holy Spirit; had "tasted the heavenly gift," "the good word of God," and "the power of the world to come;" and yet it is by some gravely asserted that these terms describe some lower state than that of the feeblest and least advanced child of God. At this point Alford (who was not a Calvinist) remarks:

All this is clearly contrary to the plainest sense of the terms here used. The writer even heaps up clause upon clause to show that no such shallow tasting is intended, and the whole contextual argument is against the view, for it is the very fact of those persons having virtually entered the spiritual life which makes it impossible to renew them afresh if they fall away. If they have never entered it, if they are unregenerate, what possible logic is it, or even common sense at all, to say that their shallow taste and partial apprehension makes it impossible to renew them?

And how could their coming to Christ, if they should come, be a "*renewing* again," if, indeed, they had never really and truly repented?

Professor Moses Stuart, whose commentary is much more exegetical than dogmatical, remarks at this place, that the words τοὺς ἀπ᾽ φωτισθέντας, *those who were once enlightened*, do not in themselves (or necessarily) imply *saving illumination*,

"but illumination or instruction simply as to the principles of the Christian religion." No doubt the nature and extent of the experience indicated by the word in question (enlightened) must be ascertained from the implications of the accompanying words and phrases. Three forms of expression are here used, either as identical each with the others, or else as cumulatives, but all predicated of the same persons or characters; and respecting the second of these, γευσάμενους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου, *have tasted of the heavenly gift*, Stuart expressly declares, "It does not mean merely *to sup*, or simply *to apply for once to the palate*, so as just to perceive the taste of a thing, but it means *the full enjoyment, perception, or experience* of a thing." To *taste* death is to *experience* death (Matt. xvi, 28; John viii, 52); and to *taste* that the Lord is gracious (1 Peter ii, 3) is to *experience* his saving power. Peter at Joppa, praying upon the house-top at noon-time, *became very hungry*, ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸς πεινός, and *desired to eat*, literally, *to taste*, γεύσασθαι; and certainly a "very hungry" man would desire something more than simply to touch his tongue to the coveted food. Dr. Moll (in Lange's "Bibel-werk") remarks of the phrase, *once enlightened*, that "the context, and the use of the word (chap. x, 32), show that the word here denotes spiritual enlightenment, reflected through the preaching of the Gospel (Eph. iii, 9);" and respecting the sense of γευσάμενους, he follows Tholuck and "the more recent [evangelical] interpreters" in declaring "against every special interpretation," and points to 2 Cor. ix, 15 (*q. v.*), where salvation in Christ is called "the unspeakable gift" of grace." And he lays stress on the emphatic placing of γευσάμενους at the beginning of the clause. The construction making the word signify a "practical experience, by actual personal appropriation and enjoyment," he further remarks, was "perhaps dictated by the idea of an enjoyment out of the fullness of the heavenly riches of grace." It is evident, therefore, if words and phrases are to be construed according to their usual significance, and the manifest design of the discourse in which they are used, that the several participles here found are intended to designate a state of real spiritual regeneration; and since such persons are warned to guard against apostatizing, the possibility that they may do so seems to be conceded and assured.

The exact sense of the terms here employed to describe the spiritual condition of the persons whose cases are brought under notice must be considered. And here it should be observed, that by the misleadings of theological predilections, or from some other cause, the authors of the accepted version of the Bible failed at this point to bring out the precise sense of the original. These verbal terms—*φωτισθέντας*, *enlightened*; *γευσάμενους*, *tasted*; *μετόχους γενηθέντας*, *made partakers*; *γευσάμενους*, *tasted*; *παραπεσόντας*, *fell away*—are all alike past participles, each implying something actually done or happened, but which also continues in its results and consequences to the present, and extends forward indefinitely. They indicate, therefore, not simply historical facts, but likewise continuous conditions, which are also perpetuated forces with still incompleted outcomes. The persons spoken of, whether real or supposed, come into the case as those who have been “enlightened,” have “tasted,” have “been made partakers,” and have “fallen away.” The tense of these participles indicates what, having actually taken place, as actions or happenings, in some past time, have also brought their subjects into other and continuous conditions and relations, and each of the things mentioned is equally real—accomplished and yet abiding—the last named being no more contingent than any one of the others—the *falling away* standing precisely as all the rest, as something not problematical and future, but as real and already effected. The “if” (chap. vi, 6) in our English Version, by which the *falling away* is made to appear as not actual but contingent, is entirely without authority, and it clearly perverts the passage from its obvious sense.

Upon this palpable mistranslation English-speaking Calvinists have attempted, apparently much to their own satisfaction, to turn aside the force of the argument derived from this passage against the cherished dogma of “final perseverance.” Even so respectable a writer as the late Professor Cowles, of Oberlin (see his Commentary *in loco*), although he had confessed that nothing corresponding to the participle “if” is found in the original, builds all his argument against the actual “falling away” of any real Christian upon the hypothetical character of this warning. Respecting the spiritual character and condition of the persons under notice, he grants, as many

of his Calvinistic associates do not, that "the descriptive points put here, when construed fairly, seem to me to describe a case of real conversion." He further concedes, in respect to the sense of the falling away, that "beyond question this word for falling away signifies a fatal moral fall—a real apostasy from truth and from God." And how, it will then be asked, after these two essential points have been conceded, are we to avoid the conclusion that such persons are precisely the ones of whom all the fearful menaces that follow are predicated? Here it is:

It cannot escape the notice of the careful reader, that as bearing upon the direct question, *WILL all true saints be finally saved?* the affirmative testimony is positive, explicit, and unqualified [not so, for all is *conditioned* on continued fidelity], while the negative testimony is hypothetical, inferential to this effect: *If* they do not watch, and pray, and trust, they will not be saved. *If* they fall away they are lost. But this is not the same as to say that any of them *will* fall away and so will be lost.*

Such a statement, coming from such a source, is an inexplicable enigma; nor can we conceive how any one, who was neither dishonest nor demented—and surely no one will suspect its author of either—could so palpably misconstrue obvious truth. And this strange scheme our author elaborates by saying, that in effectuating the salvation of free moral agents the influence of fear is a moral necessity, and therefore it is secured by hypothetical threatenings of results and consequences which the Spirit that inspired them knew, and which they who have found out God's "secret will" have come to know, can never be realized. If a human ruler should use such devices would not men speak of him as insincere, untruthful, Jesuitical?

Professor Stuart, though as an hereditary Calvinist he never could quite consent to part with this last and most cherished of the family jewels, was still both too well learned and too candid to allow himself to be deluded with such sophistry, and is manifestly impatient of it. After considering these and other warnings addressed by God to his people, with the threat of eternal damnation as the sure result of disobedience, he proceeds to say:

Is this penalty *really* threatened; or is it only a *pretense* of threatening, something spoken merely *in terrorem*? Can we

* Commentary on Hebrews, p. 160.

hesitate as to the answer which must be given to this question? But if we admit the penalty to be really threatened, then the implication is, that Christians are addressed as exposed to incur the penalty of the divine law by sinning. In our text, they are surely addressed as exposed to fall into a state in which there is no hope of a renewal by repentance. Whatever may be true, in the divine purposes, as to the final salvation of all those who are once truly regenerated, yet nothing can be plainer than that the sacred writers have every-where addressed saints in the same manner as they would address those whom they considered as constantly exposed to fall away and to perish forever. It cannot be denied, that all the warnings and awful comminations (directed against cases of defection) are addressed to Christians in the New Testament which could be addressed to them supposing them to be liable, every hour, to sin beyond the hope of being renewed to repentance. Whatever *theory* may be adopted in explanation of this subject, as a matter of *fact* there can be no doubt that Christians are to be solemnly and earnestly warned against the danger of apostasy and consequent final perdition. What else is the object of the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, except a warning against apostasy?

The spectacle of such minds—and these are only samples of a great multitude—struggling in the sloughs and quicksands of an evanishing creed, is neither agreeable nor assuring as to the superiority of reason over prepossessions. To meet the arguments drawn from the warnings and threatenings of God respecting men's liability to and the fearful consequences of apostasy, by saying, "They *may* fall, but they *will* not," and by pleading the compatibility of the *possibility of ruin* with the *certainty of salvation*, is a kind and degree of sophistry that a rational mind would never tolerate except through the perverting influence of a long-cherished form of belief that lives on in spite of common sense. The question is not one that involves possible differences of opinion respecting either the power of God to save his people or his fidelity to his own promises, but of his purposes, and of the practical economy of his grace toward men. It might not become any one to deny God's power to save every creature that he has made, including "the angels that kept not their first estate;" but he has not assured us that he would do so, but quite the contrary. And if the angels abode not in the truth, and if man made in the image of God fell away from his high estate, may not a man who was conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, though born again, fall

back into his former state? Christ is, as to his power and the merits of his death, able to save all men; but as man's Redeemer he is declared to be able to save all that will come to him, and no more. He is also able to keep his own to everlasting life, *provided* they remain faithful unto death. And to ordinarily intelligent minds the interposition of the condition practically shuts up the power-to-do within its limitation.

As an inseparable part of the conception of the freedom of the human will, in all the actually saving operations of divine grace, all who accept that belief must consent to the reality of man's probationary state until his career on earth is accomplished. As at the beginning his own willing acceptance of Christ and his grace was a condition essential to his becoming a child of God, so only by the steady maintenance of that choice can his relations to Christ and his own spiritual life be maintained. As he was first of all saved by faith, which in willing obedience laid hold on Christ—the human will co-operating with the divine—so must he abide in the same faith that he may also continue in Christ. If, indeed, man is an active agent, and not entirely a passive subject, in the working out of his salvation, then the failure of his required activity must also result in the loss of the soul's salvation. To this view of man's truly probationary state while in the world the many and solemn warnings in the Scriptures against backslidings and apostasies seem to respond; and, indeed, without conceding the reality of the deprecated danger, it would be very difficult to defend the appeals uttered against the suspicion of being intentionally false alarms. It is not, then, we say again, a question of God's power, but of man's free agency, and of God's method of dealing with men, with whom, each for himself, through all life's probation—unless converted men cease to be free agents—rests the fearful possibility of shipwreck and perdition. This is not a merely speculative and barren article of belief, but itself an inseparable part of the all-comprehensive doctrine of the freedom of the will under the active operations of the Gospel, into which the soul is lifted by the universally efficacious power of the Spirit, and in which man is appointed to work out his own salvation *with fear and trembling*. Because they are taught to see all men within the range of possible ruin, Christian ministers should be incessant in their warnings and admo-

nitions, and in watchful guardianship over the flock of Christ, to care for the erring, and with trembling solicitude to point out the danger of backsliding, "lest it should happen that the Church of Christ (which is his spouse), or any member thereof, should take any hurt or hinderance by reason of their (your) negligence."

If, then, we are constrained to believe, on the authority of God's word, to which both the intellect and the heart of man readily responds, that during our present state of probation it is fearfully possible that saved souls may fall away, and come again under condemnation, it becomes a matter of lively though painful interest to ascertain the character and conditions of their changed estate. And here, first of all, we are confronted with the statement that "it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance." Accepting this declaration in its full and unqualified sense, some sects of the early Church utterly refused to re-admit to their communion any who had once apostatized; but the "Catholics" were less severe in their judgment and discipline. To very many, in later times, the absolute exclusion of all who had openly denied Christ has seemed to be a harsh conclusion, and the attempt has been made, with only indifferent success, to mitigate the force of the word *ἀδύνατον*, *impossible*, so as to make it equivalent to *very difficult*. Here we will again adopt Alford's putting of the case:

But it is entirely clear that the word cannot be made to bear any such interpretation; it means *impossible*, and nothing else. The writer is putting the case in a form the strongest possible. He speaks first of an advanced stage of spiritual life that has been attained to; then of a *deliberate apostasy*, an expressed enmity toward Him who had before been loved—a going over to the ranks of his bitter enemies and revilers, and an exposing him to shame in the sight of the world. Of such persons, such apostates from being saints, the writer simply says that it is *impossible* to bestow on them a fresh renewal to repentance. 'There remaineth no more—οὐκέτι—not yet—no longer—a sacrifice for sins' [other] than the one they had gone through and rejected—they are in a [perpetual] state of crucifying the Son of God; the putting him to shame is their enduring condition.

The *impossibility* inheres in the nature of the case.

All this, though very strongly stated, seems to be as indisputable as it is strong. Since the impossibility is of God's own

ordaining, it does not seem likely that he will of his own infinite mercy and almighty power reverse his own decrees, and in spite of the sinner's self save him from the curse that he has incurred. Both the promises and the threatenings of God are without repentance. If salvation shall come to any sinner hitherto impenitent or backsliding, it must be the procuring of the one and only sacrifice, the blood of the cross appropriated by faith; and, apart from its saving power, there is nothing to be hoped for, either from "God's infinite mercy," or the "strong working of his Spirit," "for there is no other name [or way] under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." But this impossibility does not apply to the efficacy of his grace, even in respect to apostate backsliders, if such may by any means turn, in humble penitence, to Him against whom they have so grievously offended; nor is any one authorized to declare that the offices of the Holy Spirit, operating to render effectual "the grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men," are absolutely denied to the farthest-gone backslider, though the ground of hope in such a case is very narrow.

The reason given for this hopeless "impossibility" (chapter x, 26) is because "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin." Salvation is, in every case, in and through Christ's blood, and if that is rejected, that ends the matter. But the translation of *ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God*, is neither a happy nor a correct one. The participle in that sentence, *ἀνασταυροῦντας*, which is the principal word, carries with it the idea of a perpetuated course of acting, and has the qualifying force of the temporal particle "while" instead of "seeing," for which there is no distinct word in the original. Dr. Whedon, after duly correcting the translations, very fittingly remarks:

It is obvious on the face of an exact translation that the passage is describing *an existent class of cases*. The aorist or historic tenses [of the preceding participles] show what experiences these cases have passed through; the present tense [of the latter one—*crucifying again*] shows what they are now doing, and so persistently and flagrantly doing, that it is found [because of their persistency] impossible to renew them again unto repentance.

The commentators have seemed to be not a little perplexed by the language and imagery of the last part of the paragraph,

that is, the eighth verse, and especially the last clause—*ἡς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν*, “whose end is to be burned”—literally, *of which the end (tendency) is toward burning*. In verse 7 the fruitful ground is said to receive “blessing”—*εὐλογία*, *praise, commendation*—and applied to faithful Christians, as it was evidently designed, this simply reaffirms what is so often expressed in Scripture—that the well-doers shall be commended. In verse 8 we have the counterpart and opposite—the unfruitful ground, whose produce was only evil, is *κατάρακ ἐγγός*, *cursed nearly*—next door to cursed. It is well known that in all Bible lands ground that is not cultivated at first produces only noxious plants (thorns and thistles), and that it also becomes more and more sterile, the action of the sun during the dry season literally burning up the soil, and bringing the ground to hopeless barrenness. And so it must happen to those who shall reject Christ. “The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways,” and the same ministrations of grace, by which the faithful are rendered more and more fruitful, to the disobedient become the occasions of increased spiritual barrenness. It is thus seen that the tendencies among which the backslider subsists are entirely away from every thing that is good, and therefore, to all natural appearances, renewed repentance and reclamation have to such become impossible. The early and the latter rains denude the soil, and the sunshine burns it to a more hopeless sterility. Only some *extraordinary* work of the Holy Spirit, some miracle of grace, can rescue such a soul.

The whole tone and spirit of the passages under notice indicate the almost absolute hopelessness of the case of those whose possible condition is here considered. Having sinned willfully—*Ἐκουσίως γὰρ ἀμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν*, *for we sinning willingly* (with voluntary consent)—the whole spiritual nature passes over to the evil, the reverse of the transition of the soul in its conversion to God by the renewing of the Holy Ghost. The thoroughness of the soul's transition in its spiritual resurrection, when old things pass away and all things become new, is indicated in the evident laboring of the language of Scripture in the attempts made to express it. It is coming out of darkness into the light—a new creation—life from the dead. To fall from such an altitude is much more than to return to the original state of carnality and want of spiritual life; it is to plunge

into corresponding depths of positive and intensified ungodliness, "and the last case of that man is worse than the first." The hopelessness of the backslider's case is, that the grace provided for man's salvation has been tried upon him, and rendered ineffectual by its deliberate rejection. There is only one way to be saved, and that has been deliberately cast away. To them the blessed truth of Christ's Gospel had become a subject of personal and experimental knowledge, and to such, therefore, unbelief was much more than the natural blindness of the carnal mind—it was a perverse choosing of darkness rather than light—a voluntary and consciously purposed transfer of the soul's allegiance to the adversary—the surrender of the swept and garnished house to the sevenfold defilement of the apostate state. The text does not declare absolutely that such a one is beyond the power of almighty grace; it simply says that while he continues to recrucify Christ, to tread under foot the Son of God, and to count the blood of the covenant *where-with he was sanctified* an unholy thing, it is impossible that he shall be restored to repentance. But granting the *possibility*, in the alternative case, that God is able by means of the unknown, uncovenanted riches of his mercy to still reach the farthest-gone apostate, have we any assurance that he ever does or will so act? Perhaps he may, but apparently not often. The most fearful sight in our world is that of the apostate, without God and without hope—an Esau selling his birthright for a mess of pottage; a Cain going out from the presence of the Lord, not to return again; a Judas betraying his Master for a price, and afterward, stricken with remorse, hanging himself. Such persons go beforehand to judgment, and are virtually doomed to eternal perdition while they yet live.

The uncertainty that surrounds the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the unknown condition of those to whom it was primarily addressed, make it impossible with certainty to interpret these passages by the facts that first elicited them. It is, however, not difficult to understand that the Hebrew Christians were often in circumstances in which the admonitions and exhortations here given would be especially appropriate.

The season that followed Paul's last visit to Jerusalem would probably supply all the conditions requisite to what is there

implied. Previous to that time the Church in that city had suffered comparatively little from persecuting violence, and very many had accepted Christ as the Messiah who still remained Jews, and expected to do so. But it now became evident that the new faith was clearly incompatible with the old, as it was authoritatively interpreted by the scribes and Pharisees; and to the believers were presented the alternatives to renounce their Christian profession or else submit to excommunication from the synagogue, with all that was implied in that sentence. That not a few chose the former alternative is only too probable; and in such a time of fiery trials, just such admonitions as are here given were called for, and especially opportune. And these things also apply with equal force and fullness in every case where believers are tempted, whether by fears or favors, to depart from Christ, either openly or only virtually. Seasons of persecution are usually seasons of apostasy, and a martyr age seldom fails to be a time of backslidings; and therefore the fearful picture of the doom of the apostate should never be entirely effaced from the spiritual consciousness. Nor are the temptations to this fearful form of sin confined to times of persecution. The tempter, who would have diverted the Son of God from his work of redeeming the race by offering him the "kingdoms of this world," has, since then, plied the same temptation with much greater success. Wealth, power, pleasure, honor, ease, are the rewards that he offers, sometimes for the open rejection of Christ, but often the name may still be retained, if only the essential spirit of Christ all be put aside. Not a few, it may be feared, have thus "sinned willfully," and so the light in them has become darkness, the end whereof is eternal death.

These two passages are generally accepted, no doubt correctly, as illustrating the doctrine of the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mark iii, 29-31. If there is a form of sin, or condition of sinning, that is irreversible and unpardonable, its relations must extend to the Holy Spirit and his offices and influences. The impossibility of renewing to repentance supposes the absence of those spiritual powers in man which can come to him only by the Spirit's ministries; and as these are in the first place universal, "bringing salvation to all men," their absence at some later stage would imply that sin against

the Holy Ghost had resulted in his withdrawal. This subject is treated somewhat at length, and with characteristic ability in the last chapter of Julius Müller's "Christian Doctrine of Sin," with which, in a condensed form, we will close this paper:

In considering the sin against the Holy Ghost we must ever remember that it presupposes a very full and thorough development of the moral consciousness, and we may add of the religious consciousness likewise; because the moral consciousness cannot be fully developed without recognizing the fundamental truths of religion. It presupposes this, indeed, as something experienced at an earlier period in the person's life; but it must have been there for some time, and it must influence the entire subsequent development, however deeply it may fall away again from it, making sins more heinous, wickedness more thorough, and unaccountably far greater than otherwise they would have been. . . . Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not only the greatest, it is the most spiritual of sins. . . . It can attain this intensity only where the inner life has previously been in very close contact with moral goodness [holiness].

Respecting the relation of the passages under consideration to the doctrine he is discussing, that writer further remarks:

This enlightenment (Heb. vi. 4) cannot be distinguished from regeneration; and we can hardly doubt that the writer of that epistle had in his mind in this passage the same sin as that which Christ calls blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. His words, moreover, clearly show that he is referring to persons who had by regeneration become partakers of Christ's redemption. No expositor would ever have dreamed of taking these words to denote a merely superficial religious state had not his theological views obliged him.

As to the unpardonableness of this form of sin, he remarks concisely, and with a just discrimination, guarding it against the imputation of a special decree of wrath, and showing that here, as every-where else where it occurs, man is the author of his own perdition:

It is not that divine grace is absolutely refused to any one who in true penitence asks forgiveness of this sin, but he who commits it never fulfills the subjective conditions upon which forgiveness is possible, because the aggravation of sin to this ultimatum destroys in him all susceptibility of repentance. **THE WAY OF RETURN TO GOD IS CLOSED AGAINST NO ONE WHO DOES NOT CLOSE IT AGAINST HIMSELF.**

"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

ART. VII.—SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES.

[SECOND PAPER].

THE occurrences narrated near the end of our first paper (in the July number) are matters of much historical interest; and, in relation to our subject, deserve the space accorded to them, although, as in case of the Mekong exploration, they are not connected with any scheme for improved trade facilities now demanding attention. The interest, in a practical sense, which once attached to the Bhamo route* and its possibilities belongs only to the past. According to the testimony of nearly all the European travelers who have explored it (Baber, Margary, Gill, Colquhoun) there can be no expectation of its becoming, in a new era of Asiatic trade, a channel of prime importance for communication between China and the British possessions. The present road, or path, rather, traversed only by pack animals, or the peasantry afoot, with their loads, which is now in the worst possible condition, for "nothing is repaired in Yunnan," might, it is said, with a better selection of gradients, be much improved, but could never be made fit for wheel carriages. Mr. Baber treats the idea of constructing a railroad over this route, which has been before the imagination of some Englishmen, with the ridicule of irony. The deep abysses of the Salween, Mekong, and other rivers, with numerous high mountain ranges, seven of them between Bhamo and Tali-fu, varying from seven thousand to eight thousand feet in height, have to be crossed. No desirable route can run in this direction, and "the object should be," says the authority just cited, "to attain some town of importance south of Yung-chang (principal trade mart of western Yunnan) and Tali-fu, such as Shun-ning, from which both these cities could be reached by *ascending the valleys* instead of crossing all the mountain ranges." From the configuration of the country throughout Yunnan all tolerably easy roads must run north and south, a general fact which should enter into all calculations on the choice of a site for a grand route, whether by wagon road or railroad, into Yunnan from without. Mr. Baber further observes

* See map in July number.

that were the present Bhamo road improved all the way to Yunnan-fu, then the discovery will be made that all foreign goods can be brought in with ease and rapidity from Canton (by way of the Si-kiang), "and that Yunnan fu is only four hundred miles from the China Sea." Reference is here made, of course, to the Song-koi route, as "the simple and evident approach to eastern Yunnan, loath as most Englishmen are to admit it." Baron Richtoven makes the same statement on this subject, and goes further in affirming that the eastern section is quite the best part of the province, and most promising for trade. It must be remembered that Richtoven, when treating of this part of the country, speaks only by information derived from M. Dupuis, whom he met at Shanghai in 1872, after the latter's tour of exploration on the Song-koi River, though he listened with a mind so fully informed as to be quite capable of framing a judgment on the facts reported, and might reasonably be regarded as an impartial observer. With a railroad ascending from the Song-koi basin to the Meng-tzu plain, and thence by an easy way open to the capital, nothing could compete with this route in his view. It would absorb the foreign trade of the province, though that of Sze-Chuen will always naturally find its outlet by the Yang-tse, and that of Kwang-Si by the Canton River. As to Yunnan, however, "all the advantages are on the side of the Song-koi River route, and all the disadvantages on that of the Bhamo (or Burmese) route, and also of any other that has been or may be devised to enter Yunnan from the west or south-west." * This will, of course, be taken in some quarters as simply a French view of the subject. Dr. Anderson is inclined to speak more favorably of the Bhamo route, so far as he knew it, than the travelers above mentioned, and thinks that the difficulties, even in the construction of a railway, would not be insuperable, though he regards the valley of the Shwaylee as offering the better way for such a road when it shall be demanded. But that day he thinks is yet distant. Simply to draw the trade from the Mekong, Song-koi, and Canton (Si-kiang) rivers would not be an object adequate to the undertaking. Such a road is needed,

* Reference is here made to Baron Richtoven's article in Markham's "Ocean Highways," January, 1874, on "Recent Attempts to Find a Direct Trade Route to South-western China."

in his view, only as it can connect with a great system of railways throughout China. European enterprise, however, is not likely to wait till the best can be attained; but, so far as permitted, will still make the attempt at the present point of contact in the south-west, should the venture be at all warranted and a suitable avenue be found, to penetrate the country with railroads, stimulate the development of this section, and establish for it an active foreign commerce.

The limits of this article forbid such enlargement upon the character and resources of Yunnan, the section of country especially in view, as any adequate statement of commercial prospects in this region demands, or as the immediate interest of the subject suggests. Baber says about this province: "If a Chinese of average intelligence and education be asked what he knows of Yunnan, he will reply that it is rich in gold and silver, copper, and precious stones; that it is a long way off; that traveling is very difficult throughout the province, as shown by the proverb *Ch'ih Yunnan-k'u* (Eat the bitterness of Yunnan); that it is a very unhealthy country; that the inhabitants speak a very intelligible language,* and that it is cool in summer." As already indicated, the trend of the great mountain ranges is from north to south, diminishing in height from seventeen to twelve thousand feet above sea-level in the north to eight and seven thousand in the south, and giving place to undulating tracts and plains which increase in extent and level character toward the Gulf of Siam, though the ridges themselves are more distinctly prolonged through the Indo-Chinese peninsula, like the fingers from the palm of the hand. There are subsidiary ranges running east and west, and fertile valleys within the hills; these valleys being generally inclosed on all sides except the south, where the usual slope of the country leaves them more or less open, a condition which adds to their fertility. The main body of the province forms a

* This statement probably arises from the fact that the powerful military chief, Wu-san-kwei, who received the province with title of king from the Tartar dynasty in the seventeenth century, compelled the people, on pain of death, to learn and use the language spoken by his best troops, which was substantially the mandarin colloquial of Peking. The use of the language has been transmitted from generation to generation, and is especially prevalent in the western section, so that a traveler from the imperial capital, after passing through a jargon of dialects, finds himself at home on the far-distant border.

plateau averaging from five to six thousand feet in elevation, which is a lower terrace of the great Thibetan table-land. Two huge chasins running southward make the beds of the river Salween, or Lu-kiang, which flows into the Burmese Gulf at Maulmain, and of the Mekong, or Kiou-lang-kiang (River of Nine Dragons), as it is called in the north. From the center and eastern sections flow the Song-koï and Si-kiang. The northern boundary is swept by the Yang-tse, or Chin-cha-kiang (Gold-sand River), its head water, in its wide semicircular bend southward from the mountains of Thibet. The northern section consists, in general, of the wild and lofty mountains above referred to, with a sparse population, who live on maize, rice being a luxury, with tea and tobacco of poor quality, and with no commerce or industry. De Carné draws a sad picture of the extreme desolation observed most of the way from Yunnan-fu to the Yang-tse in the north-eastern section. "There is nothing to be seen but traces of misery and signs of barrenness." "Monotonous mountains, and nothing but mountains, without a vestige of green, and bare and red as though they had been cast out of the furnace below." Gill, on the other hand, descending from the mountains of Thibet, gives a very pleasing impression of the fertility and prosperity witnessed in the extreme north-west, furnishing some exception to the general representation just made of the northern part of the province.

The summary result of observations on the products and wants of the province is, that at present *material for clothing*, silk or cotton, either raw or manufactured, is the chief need. Food enough is raised to supply the demands of the population. Margary says: "If only an easy road lay ready between Yunnan-fu and Blamo, a perfect flood of British goods would be swallowed up at once for the Kwei-Chou and Sze-Chuen markets. The merchants of the latter province would naturally prefer to buy at Yunnan and float their goods down the Yang-tse, rather than incur the risk and expense of the difficult ascent from Hankow up the I-chang gorge.* Native cloth is so dear in Kwei-Chou and Yunnan that the people cannot afford to buy it, and their ragged appearance is due not so much to poverty as to the price of cloth being beyond their means.

* An opinion which may count against Richtoven's, quoted on page 744.

There would be an immense sale if only Manchester goods could be cheaply conveyed. There is great eagerness to learn the price of any foreign productions." As to exports, the only products, besides minerals, which promise to largely supply a foreign market, are *Puerh tea* and *opium*. The tea of Puerh, a district in the extreme south-west, has been of old renowned throughout China. It bears a very high price, through accumulation of duties, as it is transported to Peking and elsewhere, and is highly esteemed for its refreshing quality, which does not affect the nerves like other tea. When properly prepared it will undergo, as reported, seven infusions without loss of strength or delicious flavor. Opium is cultivated in Yunnan to a large and increasing extent, and is of a quality superior to that produced elsewhere in China. It is said to constitute one third of the productions of the province, and appears to thrive on every kind of soil, from the low sandy border of the Yang-tse to the rocky heights of the west. Gill represents the Yunnanese as proverbially addicted to the drug; and Colquhoun refers to the deplorable results produced by its use among the Chinese inhabitants (the aborigines being as yet more free from it), and especially the mandarins, who, whenever he met them, besought him for some remedy to cure the habit. If the importation of Indian opium into China were stopped, that of Yunnan would take its place as a great staple in the market.

We have already referred to the mineral products of the south-eastern section of the province. Minerals constitute the distinguishing wealth of Yunnan; and if all that some have anticipated as to the resources of the mines were true, this country might properly be an object of most zealous interest for European enterprise. We take more precisely the testimony on this subject. Baron Richtoven says: "Although iron ore occurs in almost every province, and Kwei-Chou is perhaps the richest country in the world in quicksilver, there is, with these two exceptions, a great scarcity of metals every-where in China outside of Yunnan." Copper, he says, is the chief product: it is carried into Sze-Chuen, into the Annamese territory, and the Shan States; while in prosperous times large quantities have been sent to Peking. The principal supplies have come from Hwui-li-chau, in the northern part of the metalliferous belt. "The low price at which it is produced makes it

to appear that the ores are of superior quality and readily accessible." Garnier says there are forty mines of copper in Yunnan, the greater number being in the south. In 1850, the copper tax paid at Peking amounted to 6,000,000 kilograms, the price of 60 kilos. (or 100 lbs.) of copper being 55 francs. The copper mines are worked by capital from the government, (100,000,000 taels, that is, silver ounces, being advanced in 1850). The government reserves a right to purchase a quantity at a fixed price. Silver has not paid over 40,000 kilos. annual tax. The principal mines of it are Lo-ma and Mien-ho-hoa-ti, north of Tong-tchouen, Ngan-nan, on the Yang-tse, and Hoay-long, west of Lo-kiang. Gold is found in much less quantity. It is produced at Makang, near Ngan-nan, in the south near Talan, and at Ma-kon, in the frontier territory between Lignan and Tonquin. Very few gold ornaments are to be seen among the people. Gold leaf is prepared at Tali for the Bhamo market. Garnier knew of but one tin mine, that at Ko-kiou, east of Li-gnan (probably the same as the Kuo-chia described by Roher). This mine is renowned, and has supplied China with tin from time immemorial. The more numerous lead and zinc mines are found especially in the north near Tong-tchouen and Ping-y-hien, furnishing the government annually 200,000 to 400,000 kilos. of zinc and 100,000 kilos. of lead. The fourteen mines of iron, chiefly in the lake region, are lightly taxed and yield little to the government. De Carné refers chiefly to the mines of copper, silver, zinc, tin, and lead, some of great extent (one employing in peaceful times 1,200 men simply to drain off the water), in the extreme north, and to the iron-beds near Talan and elsewhere on the road followed by the expedition toward the capital. Garnier conceived a high, not to say extravagant, idea of the wealth of the province in metals as an exportable product. He declared that under the conditions of "more liberal laws, better means of working the mines, and free access to a European market, Yunnan would be the most important contributor of metals in the world's commerce." Colquhoun, who did not stand in that favorable relation with the government which the French visitors enjoyed, could ascertain but little about the mines. The mines are mostly under government surveillance, and the officials were very reticent. "All we were able to elicit was, that a number

of mines shown on Garnier's map are now closed." He judged that the others were not very remunerative as now worked. A disturbed state of the country generally puts the mines in the hands of the aborigines who inhabit the hill districts, and the Chinese who work them can only make them productive under the peaceful supremacy of a stable government. The problem of the future is therefore largely political: the question is, whether the Chinese government will be able, under any conditions of improved trade routes, to maintain an effective authority, or whether, in the course of events, any European power will exercise predominant and regulative control in this territory. It is a question, also, whether in existing political relations, which are most likely to continue, the Chinese can be persuaded to adopt the efficient methods and appliances in mining known to European nations. In a spirit of paternal solicitude, commendable in some sense, but consonant with the traditional immobility of the Celestial system, the imperial government has sought rather to restrain than promote the zeal of the inhabitants in the working of metals lest their attention should be too much diverted from the labors of agriculture. With new governmental enterprise, if it is possible to inspire it, a prolonged state of tranquillity, recovery of the population to till the fields and work the mines, Yunnan would manifestly offer a ready market for many requisites of town and village life, agricultural implements, and especially mining tools and machinery, in addition to textile fabrics, from distant parts.

The several classes of population in Yunnan—the Chinese, Shans, and other aborigines of the very numerous subdued and wild tribes,* and the Mohammedans, who continue to flourish since the quelling of the rebellion in 1874, though they probably suffered the most severely in the conflict which is thought to have destroyed half the population of the province—all offer most interesting features for ethnological study; but we must omit further reference to them. We must also pass by any descriptive account of important cities, as Yunnan-sen, Tali-fu,† and others, as likewise observations upon the

* A Chinese authority gives a list of eighty-two aboriginal tribes identical with, or allied to these, in the neighboring provinces on the east.

† The China Inland missionaries established themselves in Tali-fu in 1881, and in Yunnan-sen in 1882. The affix *sen*, here used in the latter name, signifies

country life of the people, their manners and customs, the state of religion, the political relations of the province, and character of the officials. Much information on these topics is contained, besides the other works cited, in Colquhoun's "Across Chrysè."* We can do little more, in recalling these volumes now, than indicate, in part, the course of the author's journey, and the one conclusion of recognized value which he urgently presents as to the best location for a commercial route. The work consists mostly of a narrative written up from day to day in the course of the journey; is rather loosely put together, and suffers much from want of revision and condensation; but the facts detailed are interesting and important, and this account is the only European source of information for much of the route traversed.

Mr. Colquhoun, who had been connected with an English government mission to Zimmé (Kiang-mai, or Cheung-mai),† in reference to rights and privileges of British-Burmese foresters, and had become much interested in the possibilities of developing British trade with south-west China, undertook this journey, accompanied by a friend, at private expense, from Canton up the Si-kiang, or West-river, through the province of Kwang-Si and the southern section of Yunnan, designing to reach Maulmain or Rangoon through the Burmese Shan States. The journey was begun in February, 1882. A *ho-tau*, or river-boat, was chartered with the necessary equipment, embracing arms for defense against the river pirates, for which purpose also a government gun-boat, frequently changed at successive points, acted as escort. Passports and serviceable letters to magistrates on the way enabled him to travel *en mandarin*. Besides the instruments necessary for scientific observations, from which charts and maps were constructed, a pho-

"capital city." Yunnan is also a *fu* city, or one of the first class. The affixes *t'ing*, *chau*, and *hien*, when used, denote respectively cities of the second, third, and fourth classes.

* See page 563. We specially refer the reader for a very full and interesting account of the Shans and Kakhyens of the western hills to the reports of Dr. Anderson, noted in the July number (page 569).

† There is great confusion of names in maps and accounts of these countries, arising from the various terms used by different nationalities and the different ways of spelling to represent the sound. A table given in Colquhoun's book noticed on page 755 well illustrates this variation as to the names of tribes.

tographic apparatus was taken, which, though the display of it excited unpleasant curiosity and hostility in some places, was, for the most part, freely used, and has furnished most of the illustrations which abound in the book. Not much has been known about the province of Kwang-Tung west of Canton, and still less about Kwang-Si. In the latter province, though Colquhoun's personal observation scarcely extended beyond the river, poverty seemed to prevail among the people: "the country being mountainous, bare, and barren, with but a small area fit for cultivation;" the best part south of the river. A small estimate is put, by our author, upon the number of the population. Kwang-Si was the original seat of the Taiping rebellion, and has an evil reputation. It is here deemed "the most dangerous of all the Chinese provinces" for a traveler. "Missionaries" seemed to be an object of odium. At some places the travelers thought it not prudent to land, though some instances of hospitality and pleasant intercourse with the people are recorded. With all the poverty, however, school-houses were seen in every place, some, at least, well constructed, and temples are numerous. By the government officials the travelers were courteously received, but these evidently stand in fear of the populace. As an effect of the Taiping and Yunnan rebellions trade had much diminished on the river, that of Yunnan going to the Yang-tse, but is now reviving. Wuchau is the most thriving place commercially. Navigation is difficult at many points, and for the proper development of trade improvement of the river channel is necessary; but there is no hope of real prosperity till a stronger government is established. On the south bank points were observed which are the termini of fairly easy trade routes with Pak-hoi and other places on the Tonquin gulf. In Yunnan, the Si-kiang and Song-koi drain about the same territory. A railroad successfully established in the region of the latter would, of course, determine the direction of trade in its favor.

Pèsè, a border town, situated on rising ground in a fork near the head of the Si-kiang (or of the southern branch, which in this tour is properly regarded as the main stream), is the most thriving place above Wuchau. The houses are well built. A stronger and better type of people had been observed as soon as this region was entered. The prefect received the

travelers graciously, spoke well of the Catholic missionaries,* and made his guests (for they were entertained at the yâmen) a present of two sedan chairs for the overland journey in Yunnan. The *Chen-t'ai*, or brigadier-general, Li-hsin-kü, commander of the garrison, who had rendered renowned service in suppressing the Mohammedan rebellion, also treated them with frankness and courtesy, and gave them letters to his friends in different towns. Colquhoun found the officials generally, in the course of his journey, lacking in candor, and either densely ignorant or very chary of information about the country. Entering Yunnan, nine days' road-travel brought him to Kwangnan, on the plateau, where "cold, piercing blasts" greeted the party, now at the end of March. Thence they passed southward to Kai-hua, on the Tsin-ho, or Clear River of the French, branch of the Song-koi, a city with broad, paved streets, "the most interesting place yet seen," full of the aborigines of various races. The book abounds in notices of these tribes and illustrations of their costumes; though it lacks a thorough and connected ethnological account of them. At Meng-tzu, *entrepôt* for the Manhao trade, on a plain of 3,882 feet altitude, it was learned that the Song-koi above Manhao is so difficult of navigation, and has so bad a reputation for miasma, that the travelers leave their canoes and carry up their packs on mules and horses to Meng-tzu and Yuenkiang. In the latter place, and in Li-gnan, Colquhoun saw far less prosperity and promise for the future than the French reported. At Talan, a walled city of solid European-like structure, surrounded by an amphitheater of hills richly terraced with rice-fields, a very marked hospitality was shown, which, indeed, in greater or less degree, had greeted the travelers throughout their journey in Yunnan; and here, "wandering through the crowded streets, we every-where met with courtesy, yet no European had been seen here since the French expedition." On the road "we met a string of over two hundred oxen, besides a number of horses and mules, laden with teas from Puerh and cotton from Laos. Huge caravans carrying these articles were daily seen after this on our way to

* Accounts lately come to hand of the slaughter of some of these missionaries and their converts in Yunnan, as a consequence of the French hostilities, are received with sympathy and profound regret.

Ssumao." The descent from Talan to the Lysien River brought into view an iron suspension bridge of two hundred and sixty-four feet span. Such bridges, some of far greater extent, are numerous over the gorges of western Yunnan, and are remarkable specimens of engineering. Baber gives an interesting account of the method of their construction. At Mohê is a large salt mine; the place is said by Garnier to be the depot of an extensive trade in this article, which holds a very important place in the commerce of Yunnan, as the frequent occurrence of caravans on the road transporting it indicates. Puerh was reached by crossing a range two thousand feet in height, from the summit of which is seen an extensive panorama of bare hills, cultivated valleys, and plains. Puerh is a large walled town, of one main street with branch streets. In the small shops a few European goods are found: as "English needles, threads, buttons, some piece goods, colored checks, and matches." Both this place and Ssumao, the last official station of China on the southern border, have suffered much from war and the plague. Gradually trade is reviving here, as elsewhere in Yunnan.

At Ssumao Mr. Colquhoun was subjected to a serious disappointment—which seemed to thwart the whole object of his journey. It had been his intention to pass down from this point either by the Mekong, or through Kiang-Hung directly by Zimmé to Maulmain. This country has been almost wholly unknown to Europeans, though traversed over long-established routes by native traders. It seemed a matter of prime importance to explore it, and acquire more definite knowledge as to the possibility or advantage of laying a railway in this direction, a scheme already mooted. But the interpreter of the party refused to go farther, alleging his fear of malaria and the disturbed state of the country. No passports had been sought from the court of Mandalay, as it was known that that government would be hostile to the proposed journey. An interpreter was needed to approach the tsobwas, or chiefs, now independent of Burmah, and as none could be obtained some change of route was necessitated. Mr. Colquhoun turned northward, by a way never before explored, up the Papien valley, to Tali, and thence to Bhamo, for the most part over the accustomed road. This northward journey was by no means unprofitable. Though some appalling scenes of desolation were here witnessed—effects

of civil war and the plague, which has of late years unusually afflicted the population—such as were apparent elsewhere in Yunnan, the journey, on the whole, revealed a condition of things which contributed to justify our author's opinion of the superior productiveness and promise of western Yunnan. "The number of pai-fangs," he writes, "wei-kans, and temples was remarkable, and taken along with the bridges, protection walls, and other public works, argues a considerable degree of present affluence. The country certainly has a most prosperous appearance. The hill-sides in many places are cultivated nearly to the top." Hamlets and isolated farm-steadings were seen with unusual frequency, and in some parts "an immense number of villages" are reported, all indicating "a great population." The houses, moreover, are very substantially built, and all things wore an aspect of plenty, while "nowhere was that miserable, starved look which we had seen in some places." A village is thus described: "A country paved causeway led us through unpeopled streets, on either side of which were fine, almost magnificent, buildings, substantial and handsomely decorated. They were nearly all of brick-work or rubble-stone foundations. The outside was plastered and then painted over; frescoes and bass-reliefs were plentiful; the ridgings and finish of the roof being very handsome." The superior specimens of architecture, showing solidity and finish, seen in this section and elsewhere in the province, are generally referred, if not universally, to the Mohammedan influence.

This, then, is Mr. Colquhoun's conclusion and proposal, which—if his view shall be substantiated in the whole as by subsequent exploration it seems to have been already in great part—furnishes the grand key to the problem we have been considering, as to how south-western China can best be entered on the side of the British possessions for a large, or considerable, development of trade. "The real agricultural wealth of Yunnan," he says, "lies in the *central and south-western* portion, which can best be tapped by a railway from British Burmah, passing through Zimmé and Kiang-Hung to Ssumao. The Shan countries to the south are as wealthy in minerals as Yunnan itself, and there is now [in the once Burmese Shan States] no suzerain power to prevent their being worked." It has been known that the Shans are particularly fond of trade, and much given

to traveling for this object. The impression of the fertility of the country and of its considerable undeveloped resources in minerals has been confirmed by recent journeys of exploration.

Having already transgressed the limits assigned to this article, we can do no more here than call attention to Mr. Colquhoun's latest work, "*Amongst the Shans*,"* which gives account of his observations during the mission to Zimmé, and much valuable matter besides on the Shan country and prospects of railroad development. The learned Introduction by Professor Lacouperie is an instructive, though condensed, treatment of its leading subject, and an account of various racial affinities, according to the latest theories, which has received high commendation. The recent collection of papers from the American Presbyterian missionaries in Siam is also an interesting and fresh contribution to our knowledge of the country.† The course of the railroad proposed by Mr. Colquhoun would be devoid of the immense engineering difficulties of another suggested line from Mandalay eastward to Kiang-Hung, and apparently much easier of construction than that projected in 1858 from Rangoon to the same point across a hilly region and several deep valleys of the Salween and other streams, besides opening an intervening section of fertile country which would add abundantly to the resources of the road. It would start from the existing Rangoon and Thoungoo Railroad, some distance above Pegu; strike eastward and south-eastward to near Dongwoon, where it would be joined by a road of sixty miles from Martaban (opposite Maulmain), and thence, after crossing the Salween in the easy level south of the mountain ranges, pass north-eastward over the Baw plateau, which could probably be crossed at some point below the altitude taken (3,337 feet), and constitutes the only serious difficulty of the kind in the proposed route, on to Zimmé. This town is the first objective point. It is the capital of the most populous (perhaps 600,000 inhabitants) of the Siamese provinces, which occupies a semi-independent relation. It stands

* "*Amongst the Shans*." By Archibald Ross Colquhoun, F.R.G.S. With upward of 50 whole page Illustrations, and an Historical Sketch of the Shans, by Holt S. Hallett, F.R.G.S. Preceded by an Introduction on the Cradle of the Shan Race, by Terrien de Lacouperie, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology, University College, London. London: Field & Tuer. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1885.

† "*Siam and Laos, as seen by our American Missionaries*." 12mo. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1885.

at an elevation of 800 feet on the Meping River, branch of the Menam, with walls once strong but decayed, being the commercial center of all the Shan region north and east, with very active trade, receiving yearly a caravan from Yunnan, mostly Tali traders, who come for cotton. It is inhabited by Yun Shans, in general a tall, handsome people, more hardy than the Burmese or Siamese. Ever since the journey in these parts of Captain M'Leod in 1836-37, the India government has given some attention to the trade route in this quarter. The American Baptists and Presbyterians have for several years sustained missions in Zimmé. From this town it is an easy road to Kiang-Sen, also an important trade center near the limit of the Siamese Shan territory and on the Mékong, up the west side of which the line would pass to Kiang-Hung, in the independent Shan territory—a total roadway distance of about 700 miles from Rangoon, and perhaps 150 less from Martaban. Such a road would naturally take the entire traffic of the northern section of Shan States tributary to Siam, of the independent I-bang, a great tea district on the east, and of Luang Prabang. The major portion of this line would be in the territory of Siam, and of course involve the co-operation of that power. But it is said that not only the Siamese, but the Shan chiefs and traders and the Chinese, are all eager to see an improvement of the "Golden Road," as the trade route by Zimmé is called. As a part of the project the proposition is urged upon Siam, and favorably received, to construct a railroad from Rangoon up the Menam, forming a junction with the line above traced some distance south of Zimmé. This would be a great advantage to Siam, politically as well as otherwise,* and would furnish a valuable commercial connection for British Burmah with Bangkok and the valley north of it. Mr. Colquhoun's proposed road, crossing the Mekong above Kiang-Hung, would reach Ssumao, its terminus in China. In other quarters the natural suggestion has been made that this line might then, while sending a branch up the Papien valley, go straight on, by a fair amount of engineering, to Yuen-kiang, where it would

* See the testimony on this subject of a recent traveler in "Temples and Elephants. The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao." By Carl Bock. 8vo. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. 1884. The book has some reprehensible allusions to missionaries and their work.

be in position to draw on the commerce of central and eastern Yunnan, and, connecting with the Song-koi system, furnish a ready transportation for all goods in transit between the eastern and western ports—thus affording a grand aid to British commerce in cutting off the long sea passage. But for all this, British capital will have China to reckon with, and perhaps France. The treaty which, according to report, France has formed with native Burmah already carries her influence, so far as such a treaty may have any force, and professed right of partial military occupation (for the “protection” of certain ruby mines), up to the east bank of the Salween, and over the very territory of Kiang-Hung which the projected line proposes to cross. But a long-established and positive British influence, commercial and political, already exists in the country.

Mr. Colquhoun's explorations and suggestions have attracted much attention in influential quarters in England. Funds have been raised, through commercial organizations, to provide for a thorough exploration and survey of the proposed line from the direction of British Burmah, and such a survey on the portion beginning at Maulmain and extending as far as Zimmé has been completed under the direction of Mr. Holt S. Hallett, who, after passing down the Menam to Bangkok, arrived at Calcutta early in February of the present year, with the design of soon making his full report at London to the Chamber of Commerce. He affirms, in general, that a great part of the country is fertile and thickly peopled. He estimates the cost of the British portion of this line at £930,000, and believes that if it were once begun the Siamese government would readily undertake the connecting line in Siam. He considers that the traffic would be enormous. The relations between Siam and England are cordial, and it would seem an important policy for the latter to maintain the integrity and power of Siam as against any other European influence, if she would not see wrested from her grasp the most feasible, if not the only practicable, route for enlarged commercial intercourse between her possessions and south-western China.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE REVISED OLD TESTAMENT.

THIS long-expected, long-delayed production is at length an accomplished fact, and its first impression on the public mind is, in part, reported. The keen-edged curiosity that greeted the Revised New Testament, four years earlier, had become somewhat blunted by the lapse of time and the wide perusal of the earlier work, and by its general discussion. And yet this later issue has by no means fallen still-born from the press; for although the general public has not been very greatly moved by its coming, and its sales have scarcely equaled a tithe of those reached by its predecessor in the same length of time, a numerically much smaller body of readers, who look deeper and think more broadly and decide less hastily, have been examining and considering the matter in hand; and these are now beginning to be heard from.

A general and somewhat hasty estimate of the case would probably bring out the conclusion that the completed work, as now submitted to the public, though somewhat disappointing, is yet not altogether unsatisfactory. That it makes, on the whole, some valuable contributions to general biblical learning, and somewhat improves upon the old Version, must be conceded, and, therefore, it is valuable, especially to readers of simply average learning. To that extent the Revisers have responded to the legitimate expectations of English-speaking Christendom. Fewer changes are made, in proportion to the amount of matter, than in the Revised New Testament; partly because fewer were required, but much more because of the relatively greater cautiousness of the "Old Testament Company," and perhaps, also, to some extent, from deference to the outcry raised against the unwarranted freedom at some points used by the "New Testament Company." Perhaps it will be discovered that the whole subject of Old Testament learning is not yet ripe for final treatment. Dissatisfaction with their work was no doubt not to be avoided, since the demands of some were incompatible with those of others. The Scylla of the Conservatists overlapped the Charybdis of the Progressionists, and no place was left for the *media tutissima via*—the always ready but seldom satisfactory expedient of a certain class of would-be practical minds. In the New Testament Company the progressive spirit was largely effective, and hence the occasions for the alarm created by their work among those who blindly worship the past, and who care less for simple truth than for prescriptive authority, and with whom antiquity is the proof of divinity. But quite another spirit seems to have animated the Old Testament Company, and perhaps their completed work, carried on through fourteen

years of painstaking, may suggest to some minds the fable of the Mountain and the Mouse. And yet it would be hasty, and indeed incorrect, to say that the completed work is not worth all that it has cost, however far it may come short of the just and reasonable requirement of the case.

The general principles laid down for the guidance of the Revisers at the beginning were very generally approved as judicious and necessary, and also as sufficiently flexible for all practical uses. But written rules, however wisely constructed, cannot determine in advance how very many practical questions must be solved. The accepted qualification, "as far as possible," refers almost every question to the judgment and discretion of those charged with the execution of the work. The business was further embarrassed by the want of a clearly ascertained and defined purpose for which the revision had been undertaken. The Authorized Version was so hedged about by reason of its confessed sacredness that to touch it was made to appear almost an act of sacrilege; and though its inviolability was qualified by the condition "consistently with faithfulness," a fearful *Procul, O procul!* seemed to be constantly sounded out in respect to it. That qualifying clause, indeed, intimates that there exists another and more authoritative standard than the Authorized Version, whose claims are paramount, but it does not designate it. It would seem natural to presume that the original Hebrew is intended, and that the sense of the text must be determined by the accepted laws of literary criticism; but a careful study of the New Version will show that that was the case only to a limited extent. The Revisers were informed that they were not expected to make "a new translation," but only to revise that now in use, which, they are reminded, "for more than two centuries and a half had held the position of an English classic," clearly intimating that its antiquity ought to secure for it a qualified inviolability; and this suggestion it is evident the Revisers have not disregarded. The language of the English Bible for the twentieth century—such is the decree—must be that of Shakespeare and Bacon, not that of Pitt and Burke or of Thomas Arnold and Robert Hall, since only the former was sufficiently sanctified by age to become the vehicle of the mind of the Spirit to English-speaking Christians. The makers of the Authorized Version employed the language of their own times, but those who undertook the work of revision were enjoined to use that of more than two centuries and a half ago.

Now, if there is one obligation of paramount authority binding upon those whose office it is, under God, to deliver the divine oracles to the people—it is that they shall give them the written word in its literal significance, as nearly as it can be done by human language; and also in a form that shall be most readily understood, not only by scholars and specialists, but also by the "common people." It is for that purpose that translations of the Scriptures are made; and any pretended rendering that fails to do precisely that thing is, as far as it purposely so fails, a fraud. Nor need it be reiterated that the language of Shakespeare is not now the vernacular of English-speaking Christendom. The business of the Revisers certainly was to give to the Christians who now speak the

English tongue a restatement of the sense of Holy Scripture in their own language, and in the form and style most easy to be understood, and, as far as possible, in harmony with their own modes of thinking and speaking: just as Luther did for the common people of Germany when he made his translation for their use.

But, quite otherwise, our Revisers bring us back the Bible of 1611, with only incidental changes and a few verbal emendations. That version, when first issued, was conformed to the speech of its age, nor did they who made it acknowledge their obligation to go back to the times of Wiclif and Chaucer for a linguistic vehicle in which to convey the divine oracles to the people of a later age. In the present case, however, any changes that are confessed to be necessary to avoid manifest errors of sense may indeed be made, but the amended rendering must be carefully conformed to the language of the Authorized Version, "or to *earlier* (not later, however much better) English Versions." It seems to be assumed that certain forms of speaking and thinking which have become obsolete among those who use the English language are to be chosen as the better adapted to convey to them the import of the "words whereby they may be saved." There is, indeed, a venerableness in long-used forms of religious expression which should not be needlessly sacrificed, but no amount of rhythmical beauty can compensate for the loss of truthfulness. If, then, the New Testament Revisers were too free in changing the forms of words employed, their collaborators have erred much more egregiously in the opposite direction, since they have often preferred the sonorousness of the Old Version to the prosaic reality of the original. And if forms oft-repeated become venerable by use, so by the same process they lose their natural definiteness of signification, and may, indeed, become meaningless; and a change of words, even without any corresponding change of sense, will often act upon the mind of the reader as a revelation.

But with all the defectiveness of some of their methods the Revisers have effected not a few valuable changes; and had the English Company been more ready to listen to their American collaborators, they would have done still more. A notable case of dissent between the two companies is seen in respect to the use of the name of the God of Israel—JEHOVAH, more exactly, JAHVEH. In the Authorized Version that name is rendered (not translated) the LORD, and it is usually printed in small capitals, to distinguish it from all others who may be properly designated by the word that naturally signifies only a ruler or chief. But the word JEHOVAH not only has no direct reference to lordship, but is also not capable of being translated. The use of the word "Lord" as its equivalent is, therefore, not only incorrect, but also both belittling and misleading. The attempt to rescue it by having it printed in capitals is but little better than puerile; and while it recognizes the insufficiency of the substituted term, it wholly fails to remedy the defect by a device that is without significance, and which is detected only by the eye, while to all who only hear the Bible read—and the language of Scripture is largely learned by the hearing—the peculiarity of the printing cannot be known; and of the

millions who read the English Bible certainly only a very small proportion make any note of the fact that sometimes the word "lord" is printed in capitals, and at others in small letters. Again, as thus rendered, the ineffable name of the God of Israel becomes a common instead of a proper name, and he whom it designates is, in thought, removed from his unique *solitariness* into the category of *rulers*, in which he is one of many, although pre-eminent. The name JEHOVAH was announced to signify that He whom it designated stands alone, and is essentially unlike all created things, of which condition it is effectually deprived by classing it among others. The American Company, for these reasons, desired to retain the original word, but their superiors decreed otherwise.

In like manner the American Company desired to retain unchanged the Hebrew word *Sheol* wherever it occurs in the text, and which is in the Authorized Version changed almost indifferently to "the grave," "the pit," or "hell." The objection to the substitution of these terms is not only that they are unauthorized and incorrect, but especially that they pervert the manifest sense of the original, and obscure important doctrinal teachings. Our English Version of the Old Testament is justly said to teach the doctrine of immortality only obscurely and by inferences—some say not at all: but give the word *Sheol* its proper significance—the spirit-world, man's estate after death—and it broadly asserts the doctrine of the future life as often as it occurs in its proper sense, though not in a material body. Jacob did not speak of going into "the grave" to find Joseph, as both the Old and the New Versions make him do, though the latter makes the margins contradict the text. But while in the prose of the Old Testament the mistranslation of the Authorized Version is perpetuated, in the poetical parts the word is retained in its proper form; for which correctness in part we will be duly grateful, though the inconsistency is quite inexplicable.

But some real corrections of manifest errors and some doubtful obscurities have been rectified or elucidated. The word translated "destruction" (Job xxvi, 6, Prov. xv, 2, xxviii, 20) is changed to Abaddon—an evident improvement, though the word (borrowed from Rev. ix, 11) is wholly out of place in all these cases, for there it is clearly the name of a person, while in these passages it indicates a place or condition—the lower hell—or, according to Professor Tayler Lewis, "the world below sheol," so affording another glance into Old Testament eschatology. A good service has been rendered in respect to the "groves" so often named in connection with the idolatry of the Israelites. That word and its idea disappear, and we have instead "Asherah," plural "Asherim," in which change the Revisers will be sustained and thanked by all competent scholars. The word signified the image or statue of Astarte, the Syrian Venus, which was set up wherever the shrines of the Syrian idolatry were established. In a few cases the Revisers have fairly broken away from the Authorized Version, and have given us instead some new, not to say strange, renderings. The "tabernacle of the congregation" disappears, but in its stead stands "the tent

of meeting." Neither translation is quite correct; but the old one had the advantage as to dignity and sonorousness. So, too, the "meat-offerings" are taken away, and "meal-offerings" substituted. Literally translated, it would be a "*food-offering*;" and in the old times they had the broader meaning for the word "meat," for which we have only the poor alternatives *food* and *victuals*, unless we revive the good and significant word "bread," which might have been here advantageously employed by the Revisers.

Certain expressions indicative of matters relating to the sexes, which were unobjectionable in Shakespeare's time, and which occur in the English Bible, have ceased to be allowable, not only in ordinary conversation, but even in public discourse. Some portions of the Old Testament are flagrantly unfit to be read aloud, either in public or private; and as the sense they imply can be expressed in less offensive language, it was clearly the duty of the Revisers to make the required substitutions. This has been done in one notable case (see 1 Kings xiv, 10, etc.) by expressing the sense intended, but wholly suppressing the imagery. But when the Americans proposed to get rid of the offensive epithet used to designate an unchaste woman, with its compounds and derivatives, and to use in its stead a milder word, English conservatism interposed its veto; and, accordingly, the whole category of Jezebels must still be designated by a monosyllabic term.

A decidedly good work is done in recognizing and making plain, as is not done by the Authorized Version in any case in the Old Testament, and very inadequately in the New, the difference of meanings expressed in different instances by the words "people" and "nation," with their plurals. The word "people" is commonly used to signify "Israel," God's chosen race; but in some cases the plural form is employed to include others also. In the sixty-seventh Psalm occurs the expression, "Let the people [singular] praise thee;" but the original word has the plural form, and it is evidently intended to be equivalent to the "all nations" with which it is coupled, and so the Revisers have rendered it. So the word "nations" (Heb. *gogim*) is relieved of much of the ambiguity in which it is involved in the Authorized Version. In the earlier books of the Bible it usually indicates the Canaanites, but later it referred also to other foreigners with whom the Israelites came in contact; but at length it came to have a religious significance, which is partially indicated by the word "heathen." The sense of the original word, as it occurs in different places, can be determined only by a careful consideration of the manifest design of the writing in each case, and to this the Revisers appear to have given special attention, with satisfactory results.

Every reader of the English Bible is aware that it contains a large share of words and phrases and forms of construction that have passed wholly out of use among good writers or speakers. Some of these are simply archaisms—obsolete words and phrases; others, once sufficiently significant, have become almost wholly meaningless; while others express meanings for which they were not intended. The American Company wished

to replace these by the equivalents of their former meanings in the speech of the present age, but not so thought their English superiors. Accordingly, we are still to read "astonied" when we mean *astonished*; we must still have "chapters" instead of *capitals* on our architectural columns; when in need we are not to be *helped*, but "holpen;" and that which we ascertain we are not to *know*, but we must *wot* of it. The artisan must not be said to *refine* his metals, but, though not a magistrate nor armed with any judicial authority, he must "fine" them. The absurdity and maudlin folly of all this is so obvious that the reader may be trusted to find out the proper epithets by which to characterize it. That all English-speaking Christendom is thus to be tethered to the linguistic standards of three hundred years ago is not supposable; and if English Churchmen and closet scholars have failed to learn the living language of their contemporaries they are not the men to reproduce the word of God in the "English tongue," which means very much more than the peculiar dialect of the Established Church.

As a whole, we say again, the New Version has many real excellences, while its faults, both positive and negative, are also many and grave—quite too much so to allow the expectation that it can ever be accepted as a finality. It fails to correct a great many obvious and confessed errors; its utterances are often, and it would seem purposely, ambiguous and indefinite, where clearness is both desirable and attainable; and the dialect into which the Version is made is not the speech of the people of either country, neither of the learned nor the unlearned.

The enterprise inaugurated with a great flourish of trumpets by the "Convocation of Canterbury" fifteen years ago, and ostensibly designed to provide an Amended Version of the English Bible, has had its course, and the result is certainly something less than a complete success. The work is submitted; and probably nobody will conclude that this Canterbury revision will ever become the standard English Bible to the millions that will speak that language during the coming centuries. The New Testament revision has been severely criticised, partly for good reason, and partly otherwise; but it is faithful to the original, and its makers dared to use their mother-tongue, agreeable to the usages of their own generation.

But the failure to produce a satisfactory Version is not the whole of this revision business. Among its certain and permanent and widely effective results must be recognized the very extensive unsettling of the public mind, and of the confidence of the moderately intelligent part of the technically not scholarly of the people, in the Bible of their childhood. This result was, perhaps, inevitable, and was sure to come without the help of that movement; and therefore our Christian leaders and teachers should have been ready to respond to the demands of the occasion. As matters now stand, the Christian people of the two greatest Protestant nations of the world, both of one blood and one speech, no longer possess an accepted Version of the Holy Scriptures; and, while scholars need not be at any loss respecting the teachings of their sacred books, they nevertheless have

taught the people to believe that their old Version of the Bible is sadly faulty, and now it comes out that the attempt to produce a more satisfactory one has broken down in its efforts. It has long been confessed that our age is a transition period in biblical criticism and interpretation; and now it may be apprehended that the instability of opinion which has hitherto been chiefly confined to the schools will spread among the common people. All this may possibly be for the better rather than the worse. The truth will be set in a clearer and steadier light by the investigation that will become necessary, and in due time we shall certainly have a People's Bible—the words of the prophets and the apostles clearly interpreted, presenting the truth as it is in Jesus in language as plain and intelligible as the prattlings of childhood. In any event we may be assured that the word of the Lord remains sure.

PROFESSOR WINCHELL ON "ANTHROPOMORPHISM."

EDITOR OF METHODIST REVIEW: The most important article of the REVIEW for July is pre-eminently Dr. Winchell's "Anthropomorphism." The discussion there given is at once masterly and scholarly, and it also supplies a *desideratum*. It is the best thing on the subject I remember to have seen, and it appears to me at once unanswerable and complete. The reading of it has also suggested certain interrogatories to which, I trust, either you or the learned doctor will see your way to respond.

1. Is it not to be regretted that in this essay, which leaves so little to be desired, the writer did not, while affirming that it is not anthropomorphism to predicate *will, thought, or affection* of God, since these attributes, so far from being characteristically human, may be assumed to be, in part, those features of the Divine Mind in the image of which man was originally constituted, also affirm that it is not anthropomorphism to predicate *conscience* of God—that is, to insist that the instincts of justice and benevolence which pervade the human breast, and which when duly enlightened never fail to assert themselves, do fairly interpret the divine idea of right and justice? If the ideas of morality and of moral obligation, especially as they exist in a properly Christianized mind, be not universal—absolutely the same in all worlds, and eternally and hence absolutely trustworthy—how can a divine government proper, or a future and universal judgment, ever be possible?

I have had a great deal of sympathy with [the sentiment of] the late John Stuart Mill, when, in opposition to the agnosticism of Mansell, he, as will be remembered, somewhat indignantly declared, "Convince me that the highest human morality does not, as far as it goes, actually sanction and correctly interpret the moral attributes of God, however infinite—and, while I shall bear my fate as best I may, there is one thing I will not do, and this because I cannot—I will not worship this God; and if told that I must go to hell in consequence of my obduracy, then to hell I will go."

2. When Dr. Winchell states (p. 529) that "no religion ever existed which interposed a vacuum of being all the way from the Infinite to man," I am moved to ask, "How much did the typical Puritan's faith come short of doing just that

thing? What helpful intermediary did that faith recognize?" And yet what religion, however many its ritualistic crutches, has ever yielded loftier specimens of Christian manhood than that same utterly unritualistic Puritanism? And this suggests just here another question, as important practically as it is psychologically interesting. However instinctive it may be to do so, is it wise, is it safe, or in any case necessary, to resort to these materialistic aids to faith, and to sensuous symbolisms, as adjuncts to devotion? It is customary to say, that in the religious childhood of the race an elaborate ceremonial was introduced among the Israelites in order to educate them up to the apprehension of better religious ideas. But it is to be observed, that whatever the wisdom (or unwisdom) of this method of religious nurture, hardly had it been introduced before the people were warned against its abuse; hardly was it in full operation ere they were threatened with the severest penalties for having yielded to the temptation thereby afforded to lapse into formalism and spiritual death. It is to be observed further, in this connection, that at the present day, however debased the people to whom missionaries are sent, whether Fijian, Patagonian, or Hottentot, there seems to be no necessity to resort to any sort of sensuous symbolism in order either to inculcate religious truth or to enkindle devotion.

3. I especially enjoyed that part of the learned professor's essay in which he most conclusively shows that, inasmuch as all idolatry and polytheism spring from that natural, instinctive human craving for outward, sensible manifestations of the spiritual and unseen which is the counterpart of all symbolism, these cannot be condemned as essentially wrong, any more than the use of a candle or a crucifix. [But does this excuse the idolatry, or does it condemn the use of a candle or a crucifix?] Upon this I queried, why, then, have polytheism and idolatry always been condemned as essentially wicked? If, as another has well said, "Idolatry is but the religious instinct gone astray," why, instead of denouncing it root and branch, is it not wiser to imitate Paul's example, saying, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you." You do well to *worship*; we come to show unto you a "more excellent way"—to help you to a truer conception of our common Father, and a more direct and satisfactory way of approach to him.

4. Once more. If, as Dr. Winchell maintains—and I confess his position seems to me well taken, that is, from the stand-point of scientific historical criticism—if the ancient Hebrew histories abound in very crude anthropomorphic representations of the Deity—representing the latter often as actuated by purely human motives and selfishly human passions; if, in other words, we admit, in substance, that the Holy Ghost could not sufficiently possess and control the holy men employed to write these ancient histories so as to preserve them from the use of such imagery, or descriptive terms, as to involve inadequate and misleading representations of Jehovah, what becomes of our popular theory of Inspiration? How are we to know positively what is authentic Scripture?

We read, that Jehovah himself declares, "I am a *jealous* God." Now, did Jehovah actually indite that word "*jealous*?" If so, did he really mean it? If he did not indite it, how are we to know that he indited any other part of the decalogue? We have a "Thus saith the Lord" for certain nameless barbarities perpetrated by the Israelites on their enemies. If, as I would be very glad to be able to do, we can explain these away, as Dr. Winchell intimates, by relegating these unfortunate statements to the crude, anthropomorphic conceptions concerning the Deity entertained by the writers of these histories, how yet shall we know when positively to credit other statements similarly authenticated? Will

not the whole record, by this process, become, especially in the popular estimation, either wholly invalidated or rendered of doubtful authority? What must the preacher or Bible-class teacher, with these "advanced views" in his mind, do when these hard questions arise, and cavils are suggested concerning such confessed difficulties in the Old Testament history?

R. H. H.

June 27, 1885.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

When we gave Dr. Winchell's paper a place in our pages, which was done both on account of the importance of its subject and the ability of its treatment, we expected that it would suggest not a few questions which it failed to answer; and we felt, also, that some of its positions needed to be further guarded, in order to save them from probable misapprehensions. And now we are not at all surprised at the receipt of such a letter as that given above, which, however, seems to need explanations and delimitations scarcely less than the article to which it refers. The study of the subject of the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, and of our religious conceptions, is forced upon us by the trend of the public mind and by the thinking of the age, and, no doubt, by means of it some important truths will be made to appear in new and unusual aspects. These things do not look to the men of the present day just as they did to their predecessors; and among these manifest changes some of the aspects (not the substance) of religious truth and doctrine have been subjected to the common experience. Modifications of very wide extent and far-reaching influences are certainly taking place in respect to the forms and externals of Christian doctrines. They cannot be resisted; and though perilous in the process of the transition, they will probably prove beneficial in the final outcome; and while we could not withstand them, if we would, we have no wish to do so. Evidently, however, it is the duty of the leaders of the Christian thought of the age to act as guides and guardians in this transition, instead of giving it over to the misdirection of the unspiritual and perversely skeptical.

The tendency to materialistic and sensuous conceptions of spiritual truths is universal among men. It very largely dominates the ideas and the methods of the whole race of "scientists;" so much so, that to ignore and practically deny all proper spirituality has become the rule with them. In the religious world, outside of Christendom, naturalism is the theology of the learned and fetichism of the unlearned, and the Christian world is but very partially delivered from the same influence. The languages of men, which are but their thinkings put into permanent forms, are essentially materialistic and sensuous; and the very terms by which alone we can seek to express our most thoroughly spiritual conceptions are originally of sensuous origins. When, therefore, God would reveal his truth to the human consciousness, it was necessary that he should present himself in anthropomorphic forms; and universally things spiritual must be presented in materialistic images. And yet this state of the case, though unavoidable, is not without its evil tendencies by reason of its limitations, to

avoid which evils in their ruinous extremes is the business of the spiritual instructor and guide.

In condescension to man's want of spiritual capabilities God has embodied the manifestation of his truth, and of his person also, in a materialistic imagery; his revelations and his religious ordinances are all formally anthropomorphic. But lest this should obscure the pure spirituality of the Divine Person and his worship, earnest and emphatic warnings are uttered against their natural tendency. Outward and material sacrifices were instituted, but their essential worthlessness, except as symbols of something better, was declared at the same time. A temple was built as "a dwelling-place for the God of Jacob;" but in the solemn forms of its consecration there was heard the significant confession, "Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee." The second commandment was expressly designed to set bounds to this tendency to hide the idea of godhead of a sensuous setting, and all through the centuries of the Israelitish Church God was perpetually warning his people against the sin of degrading their conceptions of His Person under outward and tangible forms. During his whole ministry Christ earnestly antagonized this tendency by denouncing the hollowness and want of spirituality of the popular religion of his day, and by requiring in opposition to it a purely spiritual worship, because its great Object is Spirit. The conflict which appears in our Lord's dealings with the men of his own time has been continued through all the ages of the Church's history, and doubtless it is destined to continue to the end, so long as the flesh shall continue to war against the Spirit—the *carnal* against the *spiritual*.

Some of the side-questions suggested by Professor Winchell's discussions are referred to in the letter of our correspondent given above, and to some of these we now propose to devote a few thoughts, taking them up somewhat in the order in which they are presented.

The regret of our correspondent at the silence of the essay respecting the essential and unchangeable nature of ethical righteousness, and its immanence in the divine character, would be eminently pertinent had that thought been anywhere brought into question. In proportion as the essential spirituality of the Divine Person is brought into view his holiness also is declared, and that not as an accidental or variable quality, but as of his essential Being; and because God so reveals himself in holiness, and the human consciousness apprehends and approves what is thus detected, God never, as the embodiment of essential righteousness, can be without a witness in every heart. And this revelation of the ethical side of the divine nature brings with it also the awful authority of the divine majesty. But all this lies quite outside of the form of anthropomorphism, to the discussion of which the essay is devoted.

Quite unlike our correspondent, we have no "sympathy with," but a *great horror at*, such thoughts and utterances as that introduced from John Stuart Mill; not, however, because we at all tolerate the sentiments against which it so fiercely protests. The conviction hypothetically referred to is not supposable; and that there should be any disharmony

between "the highest human morality," which is always a reflection of the divine holiness and its glorious Author, is an absurdity, not only of the intellect, but not less so of the heart. For any man, even hypothetically, to place himself in opposition to God, and to appeal from the divine judgments to eternal justice, which must have been first in thought separated from God, and to set up in opposition to him a fancied righteousness with which to defy the thunders of almighty vengeance, is itself simply *impious*. It may be well to solemnly protest against the *quasi*-blasphemy of the creeds which change the countenance of the Father of all mercies into the gorgon face of something worse than a Moloch; but not even in thought is it lawful to contemplate our God as such a one. In not a few cases this proud appeal from some supposititious act or declaration of God is simply the expression of an egoistical self-worship that claims for itself infallibility of moral judgment and the unvarying rectitude of the moral intuitions of the individual. This was Job's folly and offense—less offensively expressed, indeed, than in the case here cited—before, in the sight of manifested Godhead, he came to abhor himself in dust and ashes.

"The typical Puritan faith" very clearly recognized and strongly clung to the one great "Mediary" that fills all the infinite void between God and man; and in that article of its creed lay its wonderful power to produce such lofty "specimens of Christian manhood." With all its repulsive severity and its one-sided conception of God's character and dispensations, British and American Calvinism, by vigorously taking hold on Christ and declaring him to be the sole and sufficient Mediator between God and man, developed a sturdier form of the Christian life than can be done by any system that denudes the Godhead of his majesty, and degrades Christ from the character of a divine sacrifice for sin to simply a kindly friend and older brother. The development of so sturdy a form of Christianity as that of the Puritans, with its minimum of anthropomorphism, is proof of the inutility of any large amount of that element in Christian culture. And yet the failure of Puritanism resulted from the relative supremacy of the outward and formal, in both its faith and its practice. Materialistic "aids to faith," beyond the simplest forms, usually operate as clogs and hinderances, like Saul's armor on the limbs of the young shepherd of Bethlehem.

No doubt, as Prof. Winchell argues, all idolatry and polytheism springs from the heart's cravings after something to worship. But these most sacred characteristics of the soul expose it the most surely to deep and fearful degradations. What were the natural results of idolatry—which is simply the changing of "the glory of the incorruptible God" into the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things"—we are very clearly and forcibly shown in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. "There is, no doubt, the struggling of the religious instincts of the soul back of all really religious idolatry, but the objects toward which they go out impart their own evil to the worship itself. At the very best, such a service can only feed the soul upon vanity, and among its almost absolutely necessary conditions it min-

isters to sin. It lacks any power to raise the soul Godward; and in the absence of the ethical conception worship inevitably tends to positive and gross impurity. Paul indeed recognized both a natural theism and the impulse to worship as manifested in the polytheism of the Athenians, and these he sought to turn to account in favor of the Gospel. It was his single experiment on that line; and its unsuccess seems to indicate its unsuitableness. Because the soul in man is naturally sensuous, and instinctively seeks its pleasure in gratifying the lusts of the flesh, the feebler religious instincts are easily overcome and subordinated to the lower psychological impulses. Religion, in order to become effective in raising the soul into spiritual life, must be, as far as may be, separated from all outward forms; and the history of the Church proves that in proportion as Christianity has become materialistic in its conceptions, and formal and ritualistic in its expression, it has usually become powerless to save men's souls.

The anthropomorphisms that characterize the Old Testament, and which are not wholly absent from the New, are simply the necessary accommodations of spiritual ideas to men's gross conceptions, and the embodiment of the supersensuous in a materialistic imagery. Because men knew only the language of sense, it was necessary to convey to them spiritual truths in that language, and yet to intimate the higher spirituality as fast as the requisite susceptibility to apprehend it should be developed. But this has nothing to do with the ethical considerations involved in such transactions as the conquest and slaughter of the Canaanites; for the questions suggested by these and similar matters lie entirely outside of all anthropomorphic conceptions or expressions. They may suggest important and perplexing inquiries, but in quite another line of thought than those of methods of expression. Nor is it necessary to resort to the plea of an anthropomorphic imagery to explain what we are taught respecting the dispositions and exercises of the mind of God. His devotion to ethical righteousness becomes, without change or passion on his part, "anger" toward transgression, "jealousy" for the protection of the right, and "vengeance"—the exercise of vindicatory authority—toward the guilty. Relatively, because of his absolute changelessness, there is change in God's relations and dispositions toward his creatures when they change in respect to him; and in this he manifests his essentially non-anthropomorphic nature, because he is God and not man.

While conceding that there are many and formidable questions that beset the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures, we fail to find the assumed difficulty at the point suggested by the above letter. The sacred history deals with facts, and as *facts* it vouches for their correctness; but it is sublimely indifferent to the quibblings of conceited smatterers who require that every recorded transaction shall be adjusted to their narrow conceptions of what ought to be. God does not submit the details of his conduct to man's judgment, nor stop at every stage to justify his administration. It is for men, with unquestioning submission, to obey what God commands, and to learn from the divine judgments, no

less than from the divine word, what are the demands of concrete and administrative righteousness; entirely subordinating their own intuitions, and correcting them by the lessons that he himself teaches: and they who will read that history in such a spirit will not be much troubled about its inspiration or authenticity.

But there are certain suggestions growing out of this subject of "anthropomorphism" in relation to the Christian faith of which our correspondent says nothing, and to which the essay refers only slightly. Though the *JEHOVAH* of the Old Testament was an essentially spiritual manifestation, yet the prevalent Hebrew conception of the Godhead was clearly and often grossly anthropomorphic; and to the Israelitish people their God was, in kind, only Moses amplified and exalted in each case according to the subjective capacities of the individual. So the revelation of the Godhead in Christ was still more broadly a spiritual manifestation, of which some of his disciples attained to relatively pure and elevated conceptions, which are faithfully and adequately sketched in the gospels and the apostolical writings. But ecclesiastical Christianity, as to both its forms and its doctrinal ideas, very early took on a gross anthropomorphic embodiment, which practically obscured the spiritual in the outward and literal. The Reformation was the result of the strugglings of the entombed spirit of Christianity, striving to get free; but even the leaders of that movement stopped at half-way. But because they asserted and maintained the right of individual free thinking, the Reformers rendered all needed advances possible, and bequeathed to after generations the heritage of that freedom with its attendant responsibilities. The Protestantism of three hundred years ago was a living germ instinct with wonderful possibilities, and sure to become developed in after times; and evidently the time of its unfolding has come. Its unspiritual appendages of mechanical inspiration and the literalistic interpretation of Scripture; its *ex opere operato* sacramentarianisms; its formally chartered ecclesiasticism, with a personal succession of ministers; its expectation of an outward advent and millennium, and a scenic resurrection and day of judgment, and its entire materialistic eschatology, are evidently parts of its outward shell, which must find their place among the *exuvia* of which essential Christianity, as delivered by the Master and received by his apostles, is freeing itself. But let nobody be alarmed at these changes, nor yet in haste for their completion. The grain of mustard-seed does not complete its possibilities all at once; and "the kingdom of heaven," of which it is the divinely indicated illustration, must also be a development. Ours may be the season of its efflorescence, following its long hibernation, and its slowly advancing early growth; and so it must also have its period of enlargement for the perfecting and maturing of its fruit, for which unreckoned cycles may be required. Of these "times and seasons" of the Church's earthly glory and conquest, the harvesting of its fruitage, we know only that they are in the purposes of divine goodness; their period, and what shall come after them, "the Father hath set within his own authority."

THE SECOND ADVENT AND THE MILLENNIUM.

Many persons, at some period of their life-time, become aware that they are assenting to opinions for which they can render no reasons. Another, and perhaps a much more numerous, class are really in the same condition, but they never awake to its reality. They assent to certain things because such are the accepted opinions of those among whom they live, and they do not trouble themselves to find out the grounds on which the prevailing belief rests. Within certain not very narrow limits this may be well. Only a small proportion of mankind can do their own thinking, and it is better to believe on second-hand authority than to doubt all that one can neither prove nor disprove. Both these considerations apply especially in respect to religious and theological opinions. We learn these in childhood, not by reasoning and through proofs addressed to our understanding, but by authority from our teachers and by virtue of the unconsciously accepted teachings of public opinion. And certainly it is best to abide in these things, unless they shall be found incompatible with reason or the paramount authority of the word of God. To unlearn one's errors is not uniformly an unmixed good; but for the thoughtful it often becomes impossible to retain such passively accepted convictions, except as they shall be supported by other and stronger evidence; and the mental crises that occur in this transition from negative to positive beliefs are often-times about equally painful and perilous.

Perhaps some who will read this paper have had something of this experience in respect to one or another article of their religious opinions, and have felt the infelicity of being unable to find any satisfactory proofs of certain cherished traditional beliefs, which also were the more troublesome because of the lack of any accepted criteria by which to discriminate between essential and merely incidental matters of faith. Among the things firmly imbedded in the traditional doctrinal notions of Protestant Christendom are some of the details of its eschatology, the proofs for which are not quite obvious; and when proofs are offered, they are often found to be vague and far-fetched, and commonly made up from proof-texts arbitrarily construed as such by a prescriptive but unreliable exegesis. The practice of reading into Scripture meanings that do not belong to it, or of seeming to get more out of it, in certain directions, than it contains, has become an authoritative usage which is often more effective than the rational import of the sacred text itself.

Our thoughts have just now been called to this general subject, and especially to certain details of it indicated by the heading of this paper, by reading an article in the "Presbyterian Review" for July, by Dr. A. W. Pilzer, of Washington City, entitled "The Return of Jesus, the Christ." It contains nothing that we have not heard or read before, brings forward no novel or startling propositions, and it may also be said to fairly set forth the traditional belief of a large section of modern Protestantism on the subject. In presenting his theme, the writer gives as his chief proof-text the eleventh verse of the first chapter of Acts:

"This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven;" and then he affirms, with a positiveness that scorns any possible questioning, "This message cannot mean either *death*, or *the outpouring of the Spirit*, or *the destruction of Jerusalem*, or *the triumph of the Gospel*: it means, and *can only mean*, the BODILY RETURN OF JESUS, who was crucified, who was buried in Joseph's tomb, who rose from the dead, who ascended into heaven." In agreement with this interpretation of this one passage we are told there are in the New Testament three hundred and twenty-five others that "implicitly or explicitly proclaim the same Blessed Hope" (the capitals are his).

We are not disposed to call in question either the mental acumen or the learning of the essayist, nor to affirm that he overstates the commonly accepted belief on the subject, though we are quite certain that very many, neither less able nor less learned than himself, would hesitate to declare the same things as their own settled conviction; and perhaps some of these will feel that it might have been better to avoid the provocation that may come of so broad and so bold an expression of opinion, to silently if not openly protest against it. And yet it may be well that the views of an extreme school of theologists and exegetes should be thus fully and clearly set forth, for there is reason to believe that the whole subject involved will have to be re-examined and re-stated before the public; and therefore it should be known what are the views of those that hold to its positive side.

It is well known that there are in the New Testament a great number of words and phrases which Adventists and Millenarians appropriate as teaching their views; and it must be granted, that if their interpretation of these is correct, there can be no doubt that the whole New Testament glows with these doctrines. It is also known that many able commentators and theologians accept these views, though often with very considerable modifications, which greatly mar the symmetry of the whole system. There is also a not inconsiderable and a steadily increasing body of dissentients; some openly discarding the entire theory, but most only doubting and asking to have their doubts removed. The proof-texts so confidently relied on to prove the traditional doctrine fail to satisfy them. They do not find that such words, in the Greek Testament, as *παρουσία* (*presence*) and *ἐπιφάνεια* (*appearing or outshining*) invariably, nor indeed usually, refer to our Lord's Second Coming; but, instead, as soon as the bold assumptions of the Adventists are called in question, such a sense seems impossible. Such expressions as "the coming of the Lord," and "the day of the Lord Jesus Christ," and others of similar import, in not a few cases, cannot be rationally construed to refer to that event. And since the use of such expressions is somewhat indefinite, it is necessary, wherever any of them occur, to determine their meaning in each case by a reference to the context and their evident design, and in the use of the ordinary laws of critical interpretation; and under that kind of treatment their Advent-Millenarian interpretation usually effectually disappears.

It is claimed that the expectation of Christ's coming again was entertained and warmly cherished by the apostles and the early Church, which assumption we need not, in this place, either deny or concede; if, however, it is granted, then must all the legitimate implications of that fact be also accepted. If the New Testament writers used the expressions in question in the sense claimed by the Adventists, it is quite sure that they also expected that the designated events would occur very shortly—certainly within the ordinary life-time of those then living—and that then just as certainly they were mistaken. The use made of these expressions makes it necessary to presume that the indicated "coming," or "revelation," was to be to those addressed, and not to those of some indefinitely remote age, eighteen hundred or ten thousand years afterward. Paul prayed that the Christians of Thessalonica might be established in holiness, "at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," that is, on the Adventist theory, some thousands of years in the future; and Peter exhorts his brethren to "gird up the loins" of their mind, and to "be watchful," in view of the grace they were to receive at the "revelation (*ἐν ἀποκαλύψει*) of Jesus Christ," which is here used as a present and perpetual motive to earnest and continuous fidelity, though they were not to see it.

If, then, these expressions of such chief apostles—and there are very many of the same kind—refer to the event indicated by the writer whose words we have quoted, they were certainly designed to influence the personal religious life of those addressed through the anticipation of something that we now know was not to occur in time to have any manifest effect upon them or their affairs. If the apostles expected Christ's Second Coming within their own generation, they were certainly in error, and their exhortations based upon that expectation were founded on a misconception; if, on the contrary, they had no definite expectation in respect to the time of that event, but only foresaw it in the indefinite future, but still used it as a stimulus to present expectant watchfulness, their truthfulness and moral honesty will need to be vindicated; and the burden of that service must rest on those who place those holy men in such an uncomfortable dilemma.

Our writer intimates, in the sentence cited near the beginning of this paper, that others have given a variety of interpretations to the proof-texts which he claims for his doctrine; and in our inability to accept without question his exclusive interpretation, we look to these for possible relief. Some of the commentaries make "the coming of the Lord" mean, for the individual, the day of his decease, which would save the accompanying exhortation from a great deal of irrelevancy. The prophet Joel spoke of "the great and terrible day of the Lord," and an apostle assured the infant Church that it referred to the events of the day of Pentecost. Some very respectable commentators understand the reference to the "coming of the Son of man," in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, to have been fulfilled at the destruction of Jerusalem, and so it has seemed to us in our most careful study of it. And in all the ages of the Church the prayer taught by Christ has been offered for the coming of the kingdom

of God; and that prayer has been broadened and deepened by the promised presence of the Master among his disciples, always, even to the end of the Gospel age. The whole Church prays and waits for Christ's coming, *in the power of his Spirit*, to establish his kingdom in the heart of all who will receive him. This is the advent for which the expectant Church ever waits and prays.

The promise of "Christ's coming" given immediately after his ascension, if accepted in its physical literalness, must also govern and interpret all other promises of his coming again. That promise had already been made at the Last Supper (John xiv, 3, 18, 28); and yet later on in the same discourse a decidedly, not to say exclusively, spiritual interpretation was given to it. But we are reminded that the "coming" announced at the ascension was to be "*in like manner* as ye have seen him go into heaven," which it is claimed cannot possibly mean any thing else than that he shall appear visibly to men's outward vision—certainly to that of those on the same side of the world—in his material body. But must it not appear that an expression so very indefinite, and which may so readily be made to include more or less, is hardly alone sufficient to sustain a great Christian doctrine—to be commended to the faith of all who have hope in Christ's "appearing?" In another place we have written: "It will not do to make such a use of *ὅν τρόπον* as to require that the promised *coming again* of the Lord shall conform to all the merely accidental conditions of his ascension. It was clearly promised that his departure was not final, and [it was] in part at least, a reiteration of his own promise before given (John xiv, 3) that he would come again."

It is known to all who are at all acquainted with Church history, that from the earliest times to the present there has been with some the expectation of the coming of Christ in the near future—in his material body—to become a potentate and civil ruler among men; and it is equally well-known that this belief and expectation has uniformly been a cause of disturbance, and a hinderance to the progress of the Gospel. It was an element of the Montanism of the early Church, and the distinctive Chiliasm that marked its way of ruin through the ages. In modern times it was seen in the "Fifth-monarchy men" of Cromwell's time. A terrible fanatical outbreak of it among some very good people took place under the ministry of Rev. Edward Irving in London in our own day; while in America, under the name of Millerism, it overran the land and spread disaster and spiritual blight through the Churches. Its career and influences every-where clearly demonstrate that the expectation of a physical return of Christ to the earth, as it is based on a misconception of the essential nature of Christ's kingdom, has uniformly operated disastrously in proportion to its definiteness and intensity. With the truly spiritually-minded Christian it suffices that he is permitted to labor in faith as the Master has appointed, assured that if faithful till death he will receive a crown of life; and in this hope he finds all needed incentives to endure to the end, to fight the good fight of faith, and dying go to his recompense.

The Millennium, as a literalistic and materialistic conception, is inseparable

arable from that of the materialistic Second Advent. In one of the most obscure and enigmatical parts of that most unintelligible of all the books of the New Testament—the Apocalypse—which scarcely any two commentators agree in expounding, it is related how an angel laid hold on Satan and bound him for a *thousand years*, during which time the risen saints lived and reigned with Christ. This thousand years—whether reckoned by the circuit of the sun or by some other kind of cycle does not appear—is to be the Millennium, which men now speak of as once they did of the Greek Calends, and equally without any basis of rational evidence. The conception of a sensuous and materialistic reign of Christ on earth, as it has not originated in any thing found in the Bible, so it has seemed very difficult to torture any thing that is contained in the inspired volume so as to harmonize with that essentially heathen idea. Our study of this whole subject, which we have pursued all along as a learner willing to be taught, has altogether failed to bring even approximate conviction that there is any legitimate ground to expect any thing in the future of the Church answering at all to an outward and material Second Advent or Millennium. Neither the Old nor the New Testament tells us any thing about it.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE POPE is regarded among foreign jurists as a question of so much importance that a noted authority has just issued an extensive treatise on the subject. The author declines to grant the Pope the powers of a sovereign, mainly for the reason that he is in no condition to assert his rights as other sovereigns of Europe, namely, with musket and cannon. But this seems rather faulty reasoning, as it simply asserts the absence of the power, but not of the right. Apart from the fact that the Pope, when in full possession of the States of the Church, was in no condition to wage war with any European great power, one will hardly desire to maintain that the recent changes in his relations have made him the subject of any power. He therefore seems to hold the anomalous position of being neither subject nor sovereign.

But, on the other hand, he would seem to hold an international position from the fact that he possesses an exterritoriality and a sovereign position by virtue of the guaranty law of the Italian government, which is recognized by other nations in sending to him their representatives for diplomatic intercourse, who are directly or indirectly acknowledged as such. This is done by some other powers because the spiritual subjects of the Pope are found among their subjects, whom they would protect in their spiritual interests and rights. The Pontiff certainly, even now, possesses many international attributes; among these are exterritoriality, inviolability, irresponsibility, an independent jurisdiction, and his own military

organization, though a very small one. But all this, it is seen, does not protect him from what he regards as violence on the part of the Italian government, which now interprets and manages the guaranty law quite differently from the sense in which it was originally understood.

It were well if this fact could bring the Holy See to the conviction that it were better not to desire to make its kingdom one of this world, but to lay aside carnal weapons and depend wholly on those of the Spirit. For even in the flourishing periods of the papacy it gained its victories not by the power of the flesh, but by its spiritual weapons, which were mighty over the minds of men. Now, it were well for the Church to enter into no conflict with the modern State, but rather to be satisfied to be in the service of the King of kings. The world is too much inclined at present to contest the claim of the pope of being the representative of the apostle Peter, to say nothing of being the vicar of Christ on earth. With these weak places in the line of spiritual rule, it seems quite inconsistent to claim worldly sovereignty on the basis of the former rule in the States of the Church. The whole is rather a legal fiction, and one too weak to be expanded into a secular right at the present period. Many intelligent Catholics of the period are of the conviction that the former temporal possessions of the Church were just large enough to embarrass the pontiff in the execution of his spiritual power, but by no means strong enough to give him any assistance in temporal rule; and therefore, from the spiritual and ecclesiastical stand-point, temporal power is a loss rather than a gain.

STUDENTS' DUELS IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES are now being discussed with much earnestness in the religious press of that country; and we are astonished to see that this is the case just now, largely from the fact that the Minister of Public Worship has spoken favorably of them on certain public occasions. The matter has also reached the Prussian Diet, in which a distinguished member of the Left declared that the class of students that engage in duels are loyal to their Fatherland, their duty, and their vocation.

Now to understand why such a thing is possible we must know, in the first place, that students' duels are generally frauds, with our understanding of the word. In the great majority of them there is no personal ill-will, and no intent to do any serious injury—and indeed no intent to receive any. Before they go into the conflict they bundle and pad themselves in such a manner that the foil cannot possibly touch any portion of the body but the face, and here the effort is merely to make a slash and leave a scar, which is considered a mark of honor instead of a brand. The students who become members of the "dueling corps," as they are called, are naturally those who have peculiar views of manly honor, and think this the best way of showing their courage in defense of their position. The body of students in Germany, is generally divided between the "corps" students, who fight from principle, and those who do not, for the same reason. As a general rule the former are a wild, lawless

set, who are quite ready to impose on other people in defending their own dignity. Many of them do little else than fight and drink and boast of the scars that disfigure their faces for life.

The important question just agitating the breasts of the thousands of young men now leaving the Gymnasias for the Universities is as to which party to make allegiance, and the belligerent spirit is now more rife than usual under the spur above named. To their shame be it said, that defenders of the duel are found even among theological students, and the question is even soberly discussed in pastoral conferences, because there also may be found men who in their university years distinguished themselves as skillful swordsmen.

It would seem, from the tone of the journals, that parents are generally opposed to it, and are doing their best to bring the practice into disrepute, as they spend many anxious hours in regard to their sons while exposed to possible dangers, or while suffering from wounds. The miserable nonsense is certainly a disgrace to German university life, and sometimes by accident ends in the death of some young man, when for a time there is a great outcry that soon subsides, and the abuse continues. It seems clear that the nonsensical fraud is demoralizing many of the noblest youth of Germany, and it is high time for the religious press to expose its folly. The custom is neither moral nor Christian, we need hardly say, and is antagonistic to the entire spirit of Christianity; and he who excuses or defends it departs from all spirit of the Gospel of Christ. And as for courage, it is quite clear that it costs more of this to reject than to indorse the practice.

THE LATE LENTEN SERMONS IN ROME seem to have caused considerable disgust, from their evidently worldly character. They treated of every other subject but Christ crucified. They have sunk to the character of an event in the religious world after the wild follies of the Carnival. The Romans now go to these occasions to hear orators rather than preachers; and for this purpose thousands were daily gathered in the cathedrals, as the ancient Romans went to the forum.

The Pope followed the usual custom of summoning to him the lenten preachers, and calling their attention to the importance of their sermons in the central city of Christendom. But, if these sermons are so significant, why not teach these prelates to exercise a little apostolic activity? It is particularly noticeable that the cardinals preach no more sermons: they seem to be too busy with political matters; or it is suggested that they consider this beneath their dignity. It might be well were the Pope himself to set the example of proclaiming the divine word instead of delivering allocutions about the degeneracy of the period and the injustice of the government.

Nearly all the lenten preachers of Rome belong to the religious orders; this year they came from the Capuchins, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. A very small number of the preachers were active priests in charge of pulpits. It is considered a great honor to appear as a "lenten

preacher" in Rome; and the opportunity opens the channel to a career of greatness for which reason many of the monks strive for the honor through protection at court. And the pulpit itself has much to do with the honor attached to the duty. Certain churches draw the fashionable and intelligent crowd. This year a Jesuit father carried off the honor of filling the pulpit of St. Peter's, showing the influence this order possesses at the Vatican. As the pulpits are of various grades, so are the attendants and the fee. This latter is worth having, and is generally paid from the revenues of the respective churches, or sometimes by lay corporations or church collections.

The secular press of Rome pays a good deal of attention to these sermons, as they are popular or fashionable events; and this year their criticisms on the sermons were very acrid. According to the most of these, the efforts were little more than specimens of spiritual rhetoric; not dealing in any way with the great religious or social problems of the period. They were full of complaints or accusations about the degeneracy of the age toward the sacredness of the Church, and contained not the slightest whisperings of the divine voice which invites man to prayer and communion with God. The great moral duties to one's neighbor, and religious ones toward God, were not mentioned. It was but little if any better in other Italian cities. In Turin the preacher complained that the families of the upper classes no longer give their sons to the ecclesiastical profession. The most marked feature of the period was the absence in the Pastoral Letters of appeal for the restoration of the temporal power. Are the bishops tired of this struggle, or do they give it up? The Pope still clings to this phantom in his latest Allocution, and anew sends forth the watchword that there is to be no reconciliation as long as he is a prisoner in the Vatican, because if he leaves it he treads on foreign soil.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE IN THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT.—This very important matter has so greatly agitated the mind of the German people that a bill has just been introduced into the German Parliament to restrict labor, or at least hours of labor, on the Sabbath. The unfortunate feature of the case is the partisan division in support or objection. The bill was presented by the commission for the protection of working-men; and its restrictions are, that labor on the Sabbath shall not be obligatory except in a few very necessary instances, and the extent of these to be determined by the administrative authorities. It is enough to say that the Radicals of all shades supported the bill, as did the Catholic element in the House.

The Liberals, however, with Bismarck at the front, objected to the bill, and preferred to have the whole thing referred to a commission of inquiry to report more fully on the measure. This action looked much like an endeavor to kill it by Parliamentary circumlocution and delay. Bismarck surprised and astonished his friends by the position he assumed toward the proposition. He saw in the bill simply a framework for something much more perfect to come, and therefore favored a special commission for this purpose. Many industries could not dispense with work on the

Sabbath, and he did not believe that the working-men would wish to be restrained by law from working on the Sabbath, if they so desired. They would thereby lose quite a percentage of their wages, which most of them could not do without suffering. He believed it not desirable to enjoin by law how men should spend their Sabbath, especially if the loss of their pay would bring hunger into their families. And in conclusion he did not believe that the working-men demanded it or would be grateful for it.

To these marvelous sophistries from such a source, which seemed inspired with the anger experienced at the treatment of some of his own propositions for the aid and protection of the working classes, the following replies were made by various members, especially by those of the Center: Sunday is a divine provision, and the demand for rest on that day is laid down in the ten commandments, and cannot be controverted by Pharisaical interpretation. In England, and in the United States, the Sabbath is strictly observed, and the divine blessing seems to crown their industrial interests. The Chancellor argues solely from a material stand-point, and neglects the higher ethical and Christian view of the question. A Socialist deputy invited the Chancellor to visit the manufacturing regions, where he could see the pale and pinched faces of the laborers who day after day are obliged to breathe the bad air of the factories, when he would certainly be in favor of granting to these operatives the Sunday at least on which to rest and enjoy a little fresh air. To all this Bismarck replied: "I do not believe in the sincerity of these counsels. I believe that agitators are hurrying on this movement with a view to sow more of the seeds of discontent, and I am not in favor of premature action in a matter of so much importance." No determination was reached, and the question goes over till the next session.

PROTESTANTISM IN VIENNA receives very scant favors, notwithstanding the many fine phrases bestowed on it some years ago, during a period of liberal feeling. There is in that capital a Protestant theological faculty with a small school struggling for existence under great difficulty. The school has been held in a private establishment in very confined quarters, because, they say, there was no room in the University building to accommodate it. Now the old University is a dark, dank, tumble-down structure that has long outlived its usefulness, and measures were taken years ago to build a new edifice worthy of the second capital of the continent.

It was understood that in this building rooms would be reserved for the Protestant faculty, though this reservation was always couched in cabalistic terms. As the new edifice approached completion it was whispered that the Protestant faculty would not be allowed to darken its doors. And sure enough, on the day of the dedication, the leader of the faculty of the Catholic school of theology besought the emperor that his body might not be annoyed or straitened in the new edifice. These words were not without their effects, and there is still no room for the Protestant

teachers and their pupils. But it seems there is plenty of room for singing-clubs, reading-rooms, and benevolent associations, as well as for museums for Egyptian mummies and heathen gods. According to the Catholic theological rector of the University, these are more in place in the building than his Protestant enemies, and that officer threatens, in case any move is made to receive the unwelcome school, that he will besiege the emperor with a new deputation that will overwhelm him. The latest information reports that the four faculties have also voted against their admission, even the Liberals turning against the Protestant school. The result is, that it does not enter the new building, notwithstanding all the promises, but in reality is relegated to worse quarters in a government building than it has occupied for the last thirty years. So much, therefore, for Austrian liberalism and justice to the Protestant subjects of the realm.

THE RECENT ANNIVERSARIES in Paris of the various Protestant religious and benevolent associations seemed to be in nowise affected by the serious agitation in political circles. There was a great deal of genuine Christian activity, notwithstanding the withdrawal of government support in large measure for their financial needs. They still kept up their contributions to their normal standard for home and foreign missions, and various charities, besides raising by voluntary gifts enough to replace the bursaries of the theological seminaries, showing that when the final blow comes in the matter of government subsidy they will be prepared to meet it. The Reformed Church is well and wisely learning the valuable lesson of self-support. In the meanwhile, they are discussing their religious needs with new vigor; and are more inclined than ever to turn to the consideration of deep and important spiritual matters. There was one very brilliant discussion of a purely theological character, on the question of conditional immortality, adversely reported on by a committee.

THE WELL-KNOWN PASTORS of the Reformed Church of France, Sabatier and Puaux, have been examining French Algeria on the shore opposite to France, with a view to study its religious needs, and perhaps to introduce there a mission work. They find the very active Archbishop Lavigerie straining every nerve, in order to establish his religion among Mohammedans and Jews, but they notice more mosques and synagogues than evidences of the growth of the Catholic Church in that region. This is no fault of the distinguished prelate who has just been raised to the rank of Cardinal for his devotion to the interests of the Church throughout Africa. He and his helpers find it hard to oppose the religion of the sword by the religion of love; the Mohammedans do not like their French oppressors, and have but little faith in their religion. The gentlemen above named think the only solution of the question is, to colonize Algeria largely with Frenchmen, so as to crowd the others to the wall. In the Catholic churches they saw crowds of Spanish, Italians, and Maltese, but no white burnoos of the native tribes.

THE GERMANS have long been terribly annoyed by the tramp nuisance, which the authorities have in no wise remedied. At last the religious element of the country has taken this and the other matters of popular charities in its hand, headed by a noted philanthropist known to them as Pastor Bodelschwing. He has founded a "working colony," where all idlers are to work out their troubles and replenish their hungry stomachs. This colonization of tramps has been very successful, and is likely to be imitated by other sections of the country. The men that are taken up as idle ragamuffins and vagabonds are generally discharged as clean and spry-looking working-men, and most of them have been convinced that the easiest way of making a living is by the sweat of the brow. The success of the experiment is encouraging the people to contribute means for the continuance of the work, as being the wisest and most economical way of getting relief from the marauding idlers who had become the terror of the rural districts.

A GREAT PAPAL REVIVAL is announced in the southern Tyrol, which was set on foot during the lenten sermons. The Tyrol, it is well known, clings more closely to ultramontaniam than any other land in Christendom. This extended to many parts of northern Italy, especially to the old city of Bologna, whose Cathedral is one of the largest of Italy. The Italian-speaking Tyrolese exert a large influence over their confreres in Italy, and their sympathies generally beat in unison. Therefore we learn that the churches were frequently so full that it was necessary to call in the armed police to close the doors for fear of panic and accident. The final sermon on Easter Monday seemed by common consent to be adopted as a period for grand demonstrations in favor of the most conservative clergy. The masses that could not obtain admittance to some of the churches greeted the preacher on his appearance at the door, kissing the hem of his garment, and insisting on taking the horses from his carriage and drawing him to his home in some quite distant convent, accompanied by a shouting multitude who insisted on a blessing before departing.

LUTHER CELEBRATIONS.—Among the peculiar creations of the days of the Luther celebrations was a delineation of the principal events of his life. This "Luther spectacle" was presented as a drama, and drew such crowds that there was a demand for its repetition last year, when the crowds grew larger and larger, and gave birth to the desire to have an annual presentation of it, as a means of enlightening the people as to the character and work of Luther. The university town of Jena has taken up this thought, and a few months ago a "Luther Dramatic Association" was formed to further this idea. Devrient, the author of the drama, has presented it to that city on condition that a new dramatic temple shall be constructed that will be in all respects adapted to the needs of the piece, and the association above named is now calling for aid in the enterprise, on all who feel that a panoramic life of Luther, presented to young and old for a certain period annually, will do much

toward extending and deepening the Protestant consciousness, and giving it a firmer root in the hearts of the people.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF LUXOR in Egypt was three years ago completely surrounded with houses, cabins, and factories. Since that time, Maspero, director of the Egyptian museum in Cairo, with money collected by the "Times," of London, and the "Journal des Debats," in Paris, has virtually exhumed the noble monument, or will do so before he quits his work. He has engaged one hundred and fifty hired laborers, men, women, and children, and a goodly number of volunteers, who find their compensation in the saltpeter that is found in the ruins, and which acts as a profitable restorative to their exhausted lands. On the southern side the temple is fully cleared, and it now comes to light that this and a portion of the northern side were washed directly by the waters of the Nile. The lower wall, composed of heavy stones that served as a quay, bears the name of Amenophis III. Other new features are daily coming to light that give a far better comprehension of the style and design of the monument than has been hitherto had, and which will make it more than ever worthy of a visit from the curious and the learned.

THE CHRISTIAN MUSEUM OF THE BERLIN UNIVERSITY, thanks to its founder and tireless worker, Professor Piper, is now attaining such proportions as to claim the dignified title of Museum for the Study of Christian Archaeology, and it is highly prized by the pupils of that study in the University. It will soon contain a wealth of art in this line that can be found nowhere else outside of Rome. There are casts of inscriptions, gems, sarcophagi, copies of valuable works in metal, and also copies of famous pictures and engravings, the best of the religious ones of modern times. In addition to these there is an excellent library, and a goodly number of originals in marble and ivory and silver, which are of great value for Christian art of the ancient periods. No one who comprehends their importance for the better study of Christian antiquity will grudge the time now required to pass through the enlarged apartments of the University where all these treasures are gathered. And the learned savant whose genius called all these together will find in them the most fitting monument to his memory.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA are largely settled by Germans, who went thither under the express agreement that they might freely exercise their Lutheran religion and use their German tongue. For years it has been rumored that Russia intended to withdraw this privilege, and this act has now been accomplished. A ukase, recently issued, orders that all district schools shall be reorganized and classified, and that the Russian tongue shall be obligatory. All schools controlled by cities, corporations, or private individuals may present their appeal to the government to continue the German, and the appeal will be considered by a commission. But history and geography must be taught in Russian, and the language itself must be taught, where it is not understood. And again, those who

desire the Lutheran religion must be taxed for its support, but those peasants who belong to the Greek Church need pay no tithes. This makes a great temptation for them to leave their Church, and in one diocese near Dorpat two hundred have gone over to the Greek Church to avoid the payment of Church dues.

THE SO-CALLED FREE SCHOOLS IN PARIS, supported by the Catholic Church in opposition to the secular schools of the State, have just made their annual report to the diocesan association. Since the public schools were secularized, two or three years ago, 16,000,000 francs have been collected in that city for the support of the free Catholic schools. The number of these schools has greatly increased within this period, and now there are nearly two hundred of them, with 70,000 pupils—about as many as are in the city schools. In the provinces the same work is being carried on, and in this latter period these have contributed 200,000,000 francs for that purpose. The clerical teachers are making some invidious comparisons; namely, that while the city is paying 10,000,000 francs for its teaching, the Catholic schools do the same amount of work for 3,500,000. The reason of this, however, is clear when we learn that the clerical schools are taught by members of the fraternities whose compensation is very small, and whose teaching capacity is of about the same grade. There is now no lack of good secular teachers; several thousand young women are enrolled and waiting for places.

THE SYSTEM OF DEACONESSES seems to be taking very deep roots in the Christian benevolent operations of Europe, and of Germany especially. The order has increased within three years about nine hundred, although some have died, and a goodly number have withdrawn for various reasons. The increase in workers and fields of labor has been about twenty per cent. within three years. The growth in numbers would be much more rapid were it not for the severity of the duties, which rapidly decreases the members, as they retire as invalids or for a period of rest and convalescence. Money seems to come to them quite freely for the continuance of their work, and therefore a good many new mother-houses have been established quite lately, although the demand always exceeds the supply. The latest call was from Constantinople and other cities near the Greek and Turkish borders. The oldest institution was founded at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, twenty-five years ago, and since that time the growth has been marvelous. Their present status is, in brief: Of mother-houses, 54; of sisters, 5,653; and of fields of labor, 1,742.

SWISS CHRISTIANS are now having certain trials with their public-school system with which we can fully sympathize. They find it absolutely necessary to yield to the demand to take religious teaching out of the popular schools. The movement is made by the Radicals, but a good many Conservatives yield with a heavy heart because in the present era of liberalism they see no possibility of obtaining either teachers or compromises by which all confessions would be satisfied. They have therefore

come to the conclusion that the only way is to leave religious teaching to the respective Churches. The Christian portion of the community yield the more willingly to this measure because their confidence in the civil schools has been shaken on account of the way in which teachers are now largely appointed; namely, by partial or partisan influences. Such teachers are, as a rule, in no way fitted to impart religious instruction, and the only way to secure this will be the establishment of the so-called "free schools," supported by the respective denominations.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

WILLIAM TAYLOR'S MISSION.—Letters from the mission party of Bishop William Taylor state that one of the missionaries, Charles L. Miller, of Baltimore, has died of the fever. He refused all medical aid, believing that his faith in God would avail for the preservation of his health. Bishop Taylor and others remonstrated with him and urged him to submit to treatment by a physician, but he refused. He was in delirium the last ten or twelve days before he died. When, some time before he became delirious, Dr. Johnson examined him and found his temperature 105, and told him he would die if he did not take medicine, he replied, "Well, then, I'll die, for I won't take any medicine." Several members of the party had been sick with the fever, but none seriously. The Bishop writes concerning Mr. Miller's peculiar views:

We have none remaining among us here who advocate the extreme view of this subject. We all believe in holiness, and daily receive and trust Jesus and the Holy Sanctifier for its realization. We also believe in direct healing of the body by faith, when a reason exists in the mind of God for it in any case, and the divine will is manifested to the individual by the Holy Spirit—and we know of many indisputable facts demonstrating this thing—but do not believe that we are justified in refusing to trust in God in the use of well-tested remedies by means of medical skill. God has given to our party three good medical missionaries, who are of incalculable value to us. We thank God for them, and ask God's blessing on their skill, and receive it.

The Angola government has received the party very kindly, and has offered to give land for mission purposes in suitable places. In a letter written on the 13th of April the Bishop said the party would remain in their healthful quarters in St. Paul de Loando until the return of the governor from a visit to another province, which would be in about six weeks. The detention, he thought, was providential, because March and April were the two sickly months of the year, and it would be well to get through with the acclimatizing fever in a healthy place, and because none of the missionaries yet knew enough of the Portuguese language to travel or transact business. The Bishop continues:

So the Lord has arranged that we shall all stay on this high hill, in the range of the daily sweep of the breezes from the sea, in a large commodious house and spacious ground; so that altogether the delay in our transit is a special provi-

dence of our gracious Father, for purposes of love and mercy. I think, moreover, that he will have the large families remain in these comfortable quarters until we can provide mission homes for them in their respective fields of labor. This is not out of line of our anticipation of how he might lead us. You know how in the beginning I said, "We cannot tell whether the Lord will lead us a thousand miles inland at once, or whether we shall plant a line of stations from the coast inward; the latter most probably." We did not anticipate so cordial a welcome and such liberal proposals on the part of the Angola government, and hence will probably plant more stations in this province than we expected; which will furnish a broader base for operations in the far interior, for we have no thought of changing our plan of planting our missions consecutively across the continent, D. V.

As to his plans for the future the Bishop writes:

The present force, however, will not man over eight stations, extending probably five hundred miles into the interior. Meantime we shall have an exploring party out, to open up new fields for new expeditions to come along next year; and having the way opened, they may not be subject to the delays which we, as pioneers, must expect to have. This delay affects our transit current expense account. I could not anticipate the interior cost of the transit of our missionaries. The cost to Loanda was about \$160 per passenger, counting two children under twelve years as one passenger. For thirty-seven or thirty-eight passengers that made a large aggregate expense; and yet \$160 is but a little over one half the cost of passage to Chili or to India. We pay here \$50 per month for our house and premises, and nearly every thing we buy is at a very high price. Flour is \$20 per barrel; the poorest quality of brown sugar nine cents per lb. Nearly one dollar a day for water delivered for our company; fifty or sixty cents per day for wood. Happily through the kindness of our friends, we have a supply of staple provisions that will last us a few weeks longer. Anticipating a quick march into the interior, we expected to pay our way in goods, and not in money. We have a good supply of the kinds of currency demanded in the interior, but it is not available in Angola at all, for every thing here has to be paid for in hard cash. Providentially our friend — gave me \$1,000 for the purchase of mission property in Loanda, or if that should not be found to be practicable, then to use it for the comfort of the missionaries on arrival. It would require \$8,000 to buy this fine property we occupy. It cost the owner \$15,000, so we cannot buy, but we occupy it, and save valuable lives by doing so, through the forecast and generosity of dear Brother —. I think we shall have material for the interior travels of the next expedition, who will pass directly into the interior, to compensate largely for the extra cash we shall require in settling our present force as indicated. I cannot say how much will be required, but will report every detail of expenditure in due time. We will securely store in Loanda the goods we may not require for the present expedition, in reserve for the next.

Dr. Summers had made a trip to the interior, some three hundred miles from the coast, and had selected four places as suitable for stations:

First, Pambos, four miles east of Dondo, the head of steamboat navigation on the Coanza River. Dondo has a population of about 5,000, but is a low, hot, sickly place. Pambos is high, healthy, and fertile, and from that point we can work Dondo as well. Second is N'Dumba, fifty-three miles east of Pambos—a large native town of caravan rendezvous, and having a fine country surrounding it. Third, Sangue, twenty-eight and a half miles distant from N'Dumba. Langue is in the midst of a charming country for scenery and productiveness, with a large native population. From that point we can work a large town called Pungo Andongo, but not a healthy place for residence, nor a productive place for agricultural resource. At or near every large center of work we want to open an industrial school farm, where we can teach the natives handiwork, besides a knowledge of letters. Fourth, Malange, eighty miles from Langue (pronounced Langa). Malange is an important town, and a great base of supplies for caravans for all parts of the interior. It is a fine agricultural country, and a good climate—which

is true of all the places named—high above the region of mosquitoes and miasma swamps.

We go about one hundred and seventy miles by steam to Dondo to reach the places named, then by foot to the several designations. At this end we expect to leave a working force in Loanda, and we are looking up a site for an industrial school farm on the Bengo River, which empties into the sea seven miles north of this.

Since writing the above Rev. Ross Taylor, son of the Bishop, has arrived in New York, and passed onward to California. He had with him his wife and four children—under six years old. He returned because he found that the climate would certainly prove fatal to his children, though his own health and that of Mrs. Taylor was good.

MISSION WORK AMONG THE DAKOTAS.—It has been fifty years since the first missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. T. S. Williamson, M.D., and J. D. Stevens, and Mr. A. G. Huggins, with their wives, were sent by the American Board to Fort Snelling to labor among the Dakotas. For many years the mission of the American Board was the only mission in all that region; but now three societies have agents at work among the tribe, which numbers about 40,000, and is, therefore, the largest tribe in this country. The three societies are, the Presbyterian Boards of Home and of Foreign Missions, and the American Missionary Association. The last has taken the interest of the American Board, which has become exclusively a foreign society. Since the mission was opened in May, 1835, fourteen ordained missionaries have been connected with it. This includes the agents of the three societies now at work. Dr. Williamson labored forty-four years, Dr. S. R. Riggs, forty-six years, and the Rev. John P. Williamson twenty-five years. In the first forty years of the mission the average force employed was one ordained and two female missionaries. In the past ten years large boarding-schools have been established, and more agents were required. It took thirty years to produce the first native missionary, the Rev. John B. Renaille. Now there are ten native missionaries, and they are very earnest, zealous, efficient workers. There are also a number of lay preachers. All the ruling elders are enjoined on being installed into office to exercise their gifts in this way. They visit destitute places under direction of the missionaries, and sometimes make long missionary tours. The Rev. John P. Williamson, who has been for twenty-five years a missionary among the Dakotas, in a semi-centennial review, thus speaks of the growth of the mission :

The Lord has given many gracious manifestations of converting power in the Dakota Mission. The *early success* was remarkable. The first year three professed Christ; the second, four; the third, nine; the fourth, ten; the fifth, five. Considering their limited knowledge, the steadfastness of these first converts is also remarkable. If a single one has apostatized I do not know it.

But the most remarkable work of grace was at the commencement of the second-quarter century, and just after the dark hours of the Minnesota massacre. In 1862 the whole number of Church members was only about 66. In 1863 there were added to the Church 350. In 1864, 150 were added, and in 1865 about 100. Nearly one half of these were men in military prisons. That a wonderful enthusiasm had taken hold of them could not be doubted, but the circumstances

were such as to lead some to doubt their sincerity. Subsequent events have removed all doubts as to the reality of those spiritual impressions. It was truly a wonderful work—it was the Spirit molding the heart of a nation. To live and preach in one of those years was worth a life-time. Every sermon was as the stamping of a die upon plastic hearts; and woe be to the workman who used a deformed die!

This awakening may be said to have continued nearly ten years. Then came a period of comparative lethargy. From 1873 until 1882 the membership only advanced 29. But there was encouragement in other lines, as we shall presently see. And in the last three years we are permitted again to see decided progress. In that time the membership has been advanced about 200, bringing the total number to nearly 1,000.

The Dakotas have been among the poorest of the Indian tribes. Many have died of starvation, but their contributions have been quite generous. Last year their offerings reached \$2,400, and from the beginning they have given some \$22,000. The first contribution was noted in 1849. It was \$10. The history of the life of the father of the Dakota Mission, Dr. Thomas P. Williamson, is one of thrilling adventures, great hardships, privations, and unremitting labor. When he arrived at Fort Snelling, near what is now the city of St. Paul, Minn., it was in a wilderness. The log-house he built for himself and wife was a very lonely one. The winters were terrible. The little hut was almost buried by the snow-drifts, and sometimes starvation would stare the brave inmates in the face. Their horses were shot, their cows stolen or poisoned, and often they were in danger from drunken Indians. But their lives of disinterested devotion won even the savage, and when the massacre of 1862 came, the Christian Indians remained loyal to a man, and imperiled their own lives to save those of the whites. "Hundreds of settlers, through the courage and the sagacity of the Christian Indians, were aroused in time for flight, and then led through the woods and over the prairies to the forts, or hidden and fed until troops arrived and the uprising was quelled."

Dr. Williamson preached the first Gospel sermon ever heard in Minnesota, and organized the first church of whites.

FIFTY YEARS OF THE BASLE MISSION.—One of the most active and successful of the continental missionary societies is the Basle, which has just entered upon the second half of its first century. Its field is South India, where it has four missions, Canara, South Mahratta, Malabar, and Nilgiri. Mangalore, in the Canara mission, was the first station, and was occupied in October, 1834. The newest station, Bijapur, in the South Mahratta mission, is not yet a year old; but half of twenty stations reported by the society were founded before 1850. The present number of missionaries, male and female, is 113, and there are many native agents. The total of communicants is 4,150. The semi-centennial report of the society says the people are becoming more and more friendly. They invite the missionaries to their houses, and seek with confidence for spiritual information. The women are showing a remarkable interest in the Gospel—those of the higher as well as those of the lower castes. The mission maintains 92 schools, with 4,447 scholars, of whom 1,028 are females.

GERMAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.—Dr. R. Grundemann, than whom there is no better authority on mission history and statistics, gives in the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift" for June tables of statistics of the German missionary societies. He includes fourteen societies, and shows that they have 342 stations, 517 European and 2,564 native missionaries, 72,706 communicants, 193,975 adherents, and 40,643 scholars in schools. Of the 342 stations, 152 are in Africa, four in Palestine, 64 in India, 24 in the Indian Archipelago, 12 in China, six in Australasia and Polynesia, and 80 in America.

SOME OF THE HORRORS OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRAFFIC.—It is to be hoped that the Congo Free State, which has begun its career under such favorable auspices, will be able soon to break up the slave trade which is so rapidly depopulating some of the most productive territory of interior Africa. A large part of the slaves sent to Zanzibar are captured in the country lying between Lake Tanganyika and the Congo. An English missionary has recently visited this region from the Mtua station of the Universities, and writes of it and of the capture of slaves as follows:

In Manyema I have seen one of the fields whence slaves are obtained—where it may be said they are grown, reaped, and harvested; or, more correctly, where they are parked, shot, or captured, as the case may be. For until slaves are needed, they are permitted to thrive in their small, unprotected villages, to plant their corn, to attend their plantations and improve their dwellings; to quarrel in that soft, mild manner peculiar to simple and not over strong-minded savages, which does little harm to any body. When, however, there is a growing demand for slaves—a revival of trade—Moeni Dugumbi of Nyangwé, Mohammed bin Nasser of Kasessa, Mohammed bin Said of Mwana-Mamba, each settled at an angle of a large triangular district, invite their friends and dependents for a few days' shooting, just as an English nobleman invites his friends to grouse or deer-shooting. Now, in this general shooting it is understood, of course, that all men found carrying spears should be considered dangerous, and shot and cut to pieces afterward; but the women and children and submissive adults are prizes which belong to the victors. The shooting of people on this scale is called a war, and a grievance for war is soon discovered, where the losses are always on the side of the simple savages. In a coarse, not always successful, manner the savages sometimes attempt to retaliate, and then follows another grievance and another war. Wadi Safeni, one of the captains in our expedition, said to me as we marched from Mwana-Mamba to Nyangwé, "Master, all this plain lying between Mwana-Mamba and Nyangwé, when I first came here, eight years ago, was populated so thickly that we traveled through gardens and fields and villages. Every quarter of an hour there were flocks of goats and droves of black pigs round every village; a bunch of bananas could be purchased for one cowrie; you can see what the country is now for yourself." I saw an uninhabited wilderness mostly; the country was only redeemed from utter depopulation by a small inhabited district at intervals of six hours' march, the people of which seemed to be ever on the *qui vive* against attack. I speak not in the hope that my remarks will have a feather's weight in checking the crime of slavery; but I wish to point out to you that there exists one narrow strip on the African coast, about equal to three English counties, which is enriching itself by wholesale murder, land-piracy, and commerce in human beings.

Fancy a camp about 100 yards wide and about 300 yards long, with its river-side flanked by the open river, and pitched up to the verge of a brown clay bank, very steep, about thirty feet deep; its land side protected by the doors of the houses, and the cane wall and beams and timbers, and tall door-like shields,

and gigantic drums; and within, a body of 300 fighting men, keeping in manacles and fetters 2,300 naked women and children, their poor bodies incrustated with dirt, and gray for want of ablution, all emaciated and weary through much misery. Of food they could get but little, having to struggle for what they could get out of a bunch of bananas, or a load of cassava roots carelessly thrown among them, as farmers' wives drop scraps and slops into pig-troughs. It was like a ravening human kennel, worse than four Bedlams emptied of their insane inmates and herded in a brick-field; a rancid effluvium of unwashed humanity pervaded the air, a meaningless and undistinguishable chatter of wretched mortals filled the ears, the eyes satiated with extremest misery. It was a sight I would not care to see again—it was a sight to make the angels weep—it was a sight cruel enough to make strong men curse and cry, "Vengeance on the murderers!"

This was the net result of the burning of 118 villages, and the devastation of forty-three districts. What was it all for? It was to glut the avaricious soul of a man who had constituted himself chief of a district some 200 miles higher up. Though over seventy-five years old, here he was prosecuting his murderous business, having shed so much human blood in three months that if collected into a tank it might have sufficed to have drowned him and all his thirty wives and concubines. Those 2,300 slaves would have to be transported over 200 miles of river water in canoes. They would have to be fed, of course, but how feed them with all the country against these sons of Ishmael! Then, such as could not be fed would die, and the river, God knows, was wide and deep enough to receive such. Now, how many of the people do you suppose will ever reach their destination? I estimate that perhaps 800, perhaps 900; and then the rest—why they die, of course.

RELIGION OF THE IMPURE AND OUTCAST TRIBES OF THE PUNJAB.—The "*Indian Evangelical Review*," a very valuable quarterly published in Calcutta in the interests of Christian missions in India, is bringing out a series of articles which throw light on the religion and religious practices of the impure and outcaste tribes of the Punjab. It is a curious fact that the higher castes do not generally recognize the outcaste races as belonging to their religion, even though the poor unfortunates strictly observe its tenets. The grade among the outcastes is regulated generally according to employment and food. Some are considered impure because of their employment, others because of their food. The scavengers are lowest. Next come the leather-workers, and then the weavers. When a scavenger accepts another religion he generally takes to leather-working, and the leather-worker advances to the grade of weaver by a similar process. Of the various impure castes in the Punjab there are upward of 2,000,000 Hindus, 173,000 Sikhs, 492 Mohammedans, and a few hundred Buddhists. Some of these are rejected and considered impure every-where, and by all classes; but the attitude toward the majority of them is due to difference of caste, to a difference of religion within each caste, and to the variance of local custom within each caste and religion in the various provinces. The writer, Mr. Ibbetson, says there is much ignorance as to the religious customs of the outcaste tribes.

Many of them are almost certainly aboriginal, and most of them have customs, beliefs, and worships peculiar to themselves; and a more accurate knowledge of their practices could hardly fail to be of the greatest assistance in the attempt to separate the aboriginal from the Aryan element in the current form of Hinduism, and to supply us with a most valuable standard by which to detect aboriginal survivals in the customs of tribes which now claim Aryan descent. To their own peculiar customs many of them have now added others, not only taken from

different religions, but often varying from place to place, and even from village to village in the same district, according to the religion of the villagers whom they serve; and the result is the most extraordinary medley of religious and semi-religious observances.

The Chumars, or leather-workers, are never recognized by Hindus, but the Mohammedans admit them to a participation in their rites. Those who are not converted to Mohammedanism are practically Hindus, and worship at the ordinary Hindu shrines, having a Brahman priesthood, who, by the higher Brahmans, are regarded as polluted by reason of the association. The Chumar believes that the good go direct to heaven, and the bad to hell. The Chumars who become weavers are received by the Sikhs. The scavengers are regarded as impure by all religions because of the nature of their employment.

Those who have not been converted from the faith of their fathers have a curious religion, which in its doctrine resembles Christianity more nearly than any thing else we have in India. They worship one supreme deity, without form or habitation, and believe that the good go to heaven as soon as they die, while the bad pass into punishment, but for a while only. They worship and make offerings of fowls and the like at a small earthen shrine, with a flag above it, which is dedicated to Lal Beg or Bala Shah, the high-priests of caste. They also have a class of Brahmans of their own, who will not eat with them, though they are, of course, themselves utterly polluted by intercourse with their clients. Some of them have abandoned scavengering and taken to leather-work, and are then known as Rangretas, and considered as of a higher order than the ordinary Mazbi. The Mussulman Chumars may be broadly divided into two classes: firstly, those who refuse to remove night-soil and have abandoned their hereditary occupation, at any rate in its most unsavory branches, who restrict themselves to pure food, and observe the ordinances of their faith; and, secondly, those who have made no such change. The former are generally admitted to the rites of their religion by the other Mussulmans; the latter are rejected.

The Sansi Gypsies have primitive ideas of religion. Their patron goddess is Devi, Goddess of Thieves. They wear the Hindu scalp-lock, shaving the rest of the head.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE "North American," which reached its seventieth year in June, keeps its place with great editorial tact and with a somewhat wearisome use of the symposium. The Catholic school policy is described by a friendly hand in the June number. Bishop J. J. Keane upholds the policy of separate schools for Catholics with much good writing and Romanistic logic, while M. C. O'Byrne declares that the public schools must be maintained as the safeguard of the State, and attempts to show that the Catholic schools do not give an adequate education to the citizen of to-day. It is not prejudice which compels us to say that the Bishop has the worst of it.

The paper of Gail Hamilton (Miss Abigail Dodge) will attract attention from the fact that Miss Dodge is a member of Mr. Blaine's family, and did good work for him in the late campaign. In discussing "Prohibi-

tion in Politics" she waxes indignant over the defeat of Mr. Blaine, and holds that the Prohibitionists have injured the cause they profess to have at heart. She is not wholly accurate in stating that the prohibitory action of the past is wholly due to one party. She holds a vigorous pen, but has too much passion for an historical writer. In our judgment, the prohibition element is likely to be more instead of less influential in the party contests of the future. One of the best of recent articles is the review of a curious English book on "Swearing." E. P. Whipple is always a graceful writer, and in this paper has done excellent service for clean-mouthed English. "How Shall Women Dress" is the title of a symposium which ought to have a wide circulation among those women who are accessible to reason as against the whims of fashion. It is pleasant to see in Judge Learned's paper on "The Tardiness of Justice," that the courts are coming to understand that the law's delays are not in the interest of the legal profession. Every thing which can be kept out of the courts is kept out. One of the reforms sought by the socialistic element is in this direction. That it should be in the power of lawyers to defeat practical justice, and absorb entire estates in the process of finding out to whom they belong, is a monstrous thing.

So few Americans ever come to a dignified and useful leisure that we are rejoiced to see that the veteran David Dudley Field is a shining exception to this rule of American life. The July number of the "North American" opens with a "Conversation between Mr. Field and Henry George on Land and Taxation," Mr. George defending his peculiar views concerning land as the source of revenue, and Mr. Field pointing out the absurdity and impracticability of the so-called reform. This conversation deserves the attention of the thoughtful, as it brings out the peculiar views of Mr. George in the light of acute but not unfriendly criticism. In "Two Years of Civil Service Reform," Mr. Eaton finds great encouragement for the friends of progress. He believes that much substantial improvement is visible, and answers the objections which have been made by the spoils advocate to the reform. There is still need to extend the operation of the rules. It is evident that this reform has come to stay, and that this is one of the questions to which unwilling candidates must give their attention; and that advance, and not retrogression, is to be the rule of the future. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, who is the most epigrammatic of modern preachers, discusses in this number the question, "Is Christianity Declining?" He finds evidence of a more vigorous life than at any period of its history, and gives the proof in such a way as to cause all to see who are not hopelessly blind. Gail Hamilton returns to the subject of Prohibition in this number, and can see little good in it, submitting her judgment in the following sentence: "The only hope of an unrestricted liquor traffic is in the Democratic party, and the one hope of the Democratic party is in the Prohibition party."

The best article we have seen on the Revised Old Testament is found in the "Andover Review" for June. Here Prof. C. M. Mead exhibits the

methods and the results of the Revisers in a calm and kindly critical spirit, and praises the work without feeling that it is absolutely perfect. Dr. Newman Smyth's third sermon on the Social Problems is printed, and as it is "On Social Helps," it is one of the most valuable of the series. It required great courage in Dr. Smyth to do the work he has done in the place in which he did it, and he has justified his position by the influence and sympathy gained from the classes he wished to benefit. We again call attention to the excellent series of papers by the Rev. Samuel W. Dyke on "The Religious Problem of the Country Town." Nothing better has appeared in recent magazine literature.

In the "Catholic World" for June there is a capital satire on the doings of the English "Society for Psychical Research." It gives an account of an imitation society at Scienceville, and presents the experiments of Dr. Positive, Prof. Dubitans, Mr. Festinans, Mr. Diatome, and others. There is also evidence that the Roman Church is rapidly falling into line with the most energetic movements for the reduction of the liquor traffic to its proper subordination to the interests of society. While thoroughly "Romish," the magazine is one of the most valuable, in a literary sense, of our exchanges. It is quite American in its subjects, and from a politic point of view is exceedingly well edited.

There is an article well worth reading in the May number of Lippincott's on the question, "Is the Monopolist Among Us?" It teaches with much force that causes are at work here which go far to undermine any attempts at monopoly building likely to be unfriendly to the interests of the people. The paper of special interest in the June number is, that which attempts to answer the question, "What Shall a Woman Do When her Husband Fails in Business?"

The change in the date of publication of the "Century" from the 20th of the month preceding its date to the first day of its date is one which takes it out of the line of early notice with its competitors. Nevertheless it is warranted by the fact that the means of communication are such that the numbers reach the reader in every part of the country, and even in Europe, within ten days of its issue. The series of papers on the Civil War continue to attract public attention, and the May number is especially rich in this respect. The frontispiece is a striking portrait of Gen. McClellan, who also contributes the account of the Peninsular Campaign. To this there are several *avant-couriers* from the pen of Confederate generals. General McClellan writes of the authorities at Washington in a complaining tone which has little response in the popular heart. The one thing he did not do was to capture Richmond. Making all allowance for the jealousy of rivals, Gen. McClellan was slow to a fatiguing and irritating point, and will in spite of all he can say be remembered as the Great Delayer. These articles are magnificently illustrated, while the general merit of the magazine does not suffer that these may excel. The discussion of the relations of "Immortality and Modern Thought," by the

Rev. T. T. Munger, in the number for May, is learned, rhetorical, and unsatisfactory. It has all the shadowiness and fine writing of the "New Theological School," and will not convince a doubter or greatly aid the faith of a believer.

The "Century" for June has a most interesting biographical sketch of the Herschel family, with portraits of the astronomers in the best American style. As the summer comes on the articles grow more breezy, and possess the interest of out-door life. Theodore Roosevelt hunts the Grizzly in a masterful fashion for the benefit of the June readers, and Mrs. Herrick describes that marvelous family, the Orchids.

But we have been especially struck with the paper of Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, on "How to Help the Negro." He tells some plain truths to his southern brethren, and confirms much of the criticism of the southern tone which has been so vigorously made by Mr. Cable. This paper indicates a growth of opinion which promises much for the Freedmen of the South at the hands of their neighbors. General Fitz John Porter, who has been the victim of great injustice in the judgment of many, writes an account of the battle of Gaines's Mill and its preliminaries, which is among the best of the war papers published in the remarkable series now issuing.

The difference between Watts, R.A. and Gustave Doré, has illustration in the frontispiece of the June Harper's. This is an engraving of Watts's picture of Paolo and Francesca as described in the *Inferno* of Dante. Doré's figures float and swirl through the air, but Watts's are heavy and unspiritual. But the expression of the lost lovers is finer in Watts than in Doré. Francesca's face has that expression of satisfied despair which is demanded by Dante's description. The matter of June Harper's is not above the average of this noble magazine. But it is good summer reading, and that is what it was intended to be. The July number is much stronger both in engravings and matter. The frontispiece is an engraving of Church's charming picture of Pandora's box, which is well worth study for its mastery of form and expression. F. Marion Crawford having worked out his vein as a novelist, has, as many of his predecessors have done, turned his attention to historical writing, and his account of "The Mohammedans in India" is extremely good. The illustrations of the monuments of this religion in India it would be hard to find equaled anywhere. Francis L. Mace has a fine poem on "Midsummer at Mount Desert," with illustrations which are both poetical and accurate. But like most of the magazine work on Mount Desert, it gives the credit of beauties which are not at Bar Harbor to that pretentious mass of hotels and cottages in which the railway and steam-boat companies have taken a great and speculative interest. No one who really knows Mount Desert is ignorant of the fact that Flying Mountain and the Sea Wall, and in short the greater number of the scenic beauties of the famous isle, are at South-west Harbor and not at Bar. We do not know of a greater triumph of speculative enterprise against natural advantages than that which has identified the hot and foggy Bar Harbor with Mount Desert, while

South-west Harbor has charms which in poem and photograph are continually attributed to its rival. The prosaic city of Buffalo takes on picturesque beauty in the paper by Jane Meade Welch, which is illustrated by some of the best engravings which have ever been given to the public. Dr. Van Dyke, Jr., writes entertainingly of Ampersand Lake and its surroundings, one of the most charming of the Adirondack retreats.

An article of great value and interest is that on "A Silk Dress," which traces that well-loved garment from the moth to the woman, who is never so well dressed as when she is arrayed in the shroud of an ugly grub. Mr. Howells has not ceased to write good stories. In this number he begins a new serial, entitled "Indian Summer," which promises to be equal to his best.

It is not possible to speak too highly of the July number of the "Century." It reaches the highest mark yet attained by this enterprising magazine. From a literary point of view the chief paper is that by Alphonse Daudet on Frederic Mistral, the *Provençal* poet, of whom a grand portrait is given as frontispiece. There is a distinct revival of interest in the *Provençal* dialect, and Mistral has given the impetus to the study of one of the most beautiful of the dialects of France. Mistral is a child of nature both as to himself and his poetry. Those who have not known him in the excellent translations by Miss Harriet W. Preston, will greatly enjoy the discovery of a genius made for them in this number.

Rose Kingsley opens the number with a fine description of Warwickshire, George Eliot's county. Many Americans who know England well enough to keep out of London as much as possible, will recognize the excellent engravings of the county which is the most rural and lovely which England can show. A point of particular interest in this paper is the identification of many of the places in George Eliot's works with well known localities in Warwickshire. "The Social Life of the Colonies" grows more interesting as Edward Eggleston proceeds in his investigations. His matter is fresh, and the engravings are of great interest, showing as they do that colonial life was not so barren of beauty and comfort as many have thought. The "Century" adds its mite to the flood of interest about Afghanistan, in a paper with an excellent map by W. L. Fawcett. A pathetic interest attaches to the sketch of Frank Hatton, a young naturalist who made valuable discoveries in North Borneo and died there. His father, Joseph Hatton, writes the sketch, and the illustrations have the interest of novelty. The military section is devoted to McClellan's change of base and the Seven Days' Fighting about Richmond. The writers are Generals D. H. Hill and James Longstreet, of the Confederate Army, and General Franklin, of the Union Army. The intense interest of the former papers is maintained, and the illustrations are marvels of good work. A superb portrait of Henry Clay is given with a "Few Words about Him," by George Bancroft.

There is a thoughtful "Open Letter" on the "Calling of the Ministry" that is well worth reading as an aid to the true conception of the work which is before the ministry of the future.

In the art of saying well things which need to be said for the pleasure of its readers, we have no magazine which surpasses the "Atlantic." Depending for its interest wholly on its articles, it is obliged to make up for the absence of engravings by the picturesqueness of its writings. Certainly in the numbers for May, June, and July it achieves a great success in the variety of its stories and in the charm of its literary matter. We have no magazine which gives so much space to important books, or which discusses literature with so much ability. Dr. Holmes's "New Portfolio" turns out to be a story full of interest. In the June number J. Laurence Laughlin, always a thoughtful writer, discusses our "American Delusion," namely, that a vote for a President does any thing beyond determining the policy of appointments to office. He wishes that the country could get up as much excitement about the elections to Congress as it does about the President, then something practical would be effected. If our Kansas friends will read the July number they will find something which will please them, for an eastern writer finds much in western Kansas to delight, and about most things writes as enthusiastically as the most intense could wish. Yet the writer has to admit that the weather is peculiar as to winds and drouth. Dr. Warren's "Paradise Found" is unfavorably but kindly reviewed in this number. While admitting the wide range of the doctor's information and the charm of his style, the writer finds the theory that paradise was at the north pole very slightly supported.

The English are rapidly adopting American methods in engraving, as can be easily seen in the "English Magazine." In the June number the illustrations of the New Forest betray the influence of our American engravers in a marked degree. There is more softness, more attention to texture, than is found in the older methods. "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" is reflected in the artistic yet painful account of the "London Ragamuffin."

It seems that we must depend on England and France for our art magazines. We have no American periodical distinctly artistic which approaches the excellence of several English publications. Indeed, two have found it to their profit to publish American editions. Cassell's Magazine has an American department, which is eagerly read, and which is both intelligent and fair. The July number has a full-page portrait of Handel, after the Chandos portrait by Thornhill, which is a wonderful work in respect of the accuracy with which the spirit of the original is reproduced. This is a prelude to a paper on "Handel and his Portraits," which reproduces the best known likenesses of the great master. These must be correct, for there is a marked resemblance between them, and all have that satisfied expression which is characteristic of the *maestro*. Those who would see the charm of English Rivers will do well to examine with care the illustrations of the river Dart. We have nothing like the soft charm of the English landscape. We have rugged grandeur, but little of that rural and agricultural beauty which is manifest in this paper. The rural archi-

ture of England fits its surroundings. Ours is transplanted and exotic. A clapboarded house is our one rural type. The stone farmsteadings of England, built from the nearest quarry, are part of the spot on which they stand. Each house has its individuality. The genius of Knaus as a painter of children is well exhibited in the selections from his work which follow the article on the Dart. If any one thinks that the modern style of dressing the hair is odd, let him study the illustrations in this number on mediæval female head-gear. Evidently the modern man will be content with modern bonnets and coiffures after he has studied this remarkable paper.

The July "Art Journal" has an etching of great merit, "Evening on the South Downs." It also engraves some beautiful photographs of English scenery, taken by the dry-plate process, and illustrating a valuable paper on Knapsack Photography. The invention of the dry-plate has revolutionized outdoor photography, and is sure to make a knowledge of this charming art a popular possession.

We call the attention of our readers to the merits of "Quiver" as a Sunday magazine of the highest type, and also to Cassell's "Family Magazine." We have no American publications which fill the place these have occupied in the estimation of those who know them. Costing the reader but \$1 50 per annum, they give an amount of matter and illustration which is as surprising in quantity as it is excellent in quality.

"Christian Thought" for May-June opens with a paper by Dr. Jesse B. Thomas on "Genesis, Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural." It is a very able statement of the claims of the book on the respect and admiration of scholars. One thing is certain, we have outlived the day when Genesis is despised by scholars. Dr. Abraham Coles, in his "Half Hour with the Evolutionists," shows that he really knows what the evolutionists claim—a fact not always visible in those who write on this subject. There is much in the points he makes against Huxley concerning the relation of the orohippus to the modern horse. Not as much is made by Dr. Thwing of his subject, "The Involuntary Life," as it demands. There is a field largely unstudied for the coming theologian in the involuntary and unconscious life of man. Dr. Deems must, however, be congratulated in making so valuable a periodical from the results of his Summer School of Philosophy.

The "Homiletic Review" for June, among many noticeable papers has one by the Rev. Dr. Abel Stevens on "Methodist Preaching—Old and New." It is, as is always the case in Dr. Stevens's work, bright and thoughtful. He finds that there is a new style of preaching in Methodism, but holds that it is on the whole a wise adaptation to the times, and gives credit to our modern ministry for as much piety as the "fathers" had, though it has somewhat changed its type. Dr. Buttz contributes much wise matter to the Symposium on "Ministerial Education," and Dr. Funk has a most stirring paper on "Prohibition."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. FREDERIC SMITH. (Hibbert Lectures, 1885.) 8vo, pp. 238. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Hibbert Lectures, one series of which makes the volume whose title is above given, have already a history, though only of a few years, which probably is destined to increase; and perhaps the successive issues will render the foundation a rival to the older ones, of which the Bampton Lecture is the prototype. It was founded in 1849, on a bequest made by Mr. Robert Hibbert, who directed that the fund so created should be applied by the trustees as they, "in their uncontrolled discretion," should deem "most conducive to the spread of Christianity, in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of private judgment in matters of religion." Because of the uncertainty that affects all general statements as to the intended meaning of the words used, especially in respect to theological opinions that vary from the generally accepted orthodoxy, and because we are uninformed in respect to the precise sense in which the founder of this Lecture used the word "Christianity" and the phrase "private judgment," we are unable to determine whether or not the trustees have been faithful to their trust.

At first, for several years, the fund was chiefly used by them for the higher culture of candidates for the Christian ministry; but afterward they determined to institute a series of Lectures on a plan somewhat like the Bampton Lectures, being moved to adopt that measure by a memorial letter signed by such men as James Martineau, Dean Stanley, Dr. William B. Carpenter, Professor Max Müller, John Tullock, John Caird, A. H. Sayce, James Drummond, and others, whose well-known views sufficiently indicate the intended drift of thought that would probably characterize the proposed Lectures should they be called for. This was also still more clearly indicated in the memorial sent to the trustees, which says: "From the fact that all the chief divinity schools of the country are still laid under traditional restraints, from which other branches of inquiry have long been emancipated, the discussion of theological questions is habitually affected by ecclesiastical interests and party predilections, and fail to receive the intellectual respect and confidence which are readily accorded to learning and research in any other field. There is no reason why competent knowledge and critical skill, if encouraged to exercise themselves in the disinterested pursuit of truth, should be less fruitful in religious than in social and physical ideas; nor can it be doubted that an audience is ready to welcome really capable and honest treatment of unsettled problems in theology. The time, we think, is come when a distinct provision for the free consideration of

such problems by scholars qualified to handle them may be expected to yield important results. Notwithstanding the traditional restraints which in England have interfered with an unprejudiced treatment of the theory and history of religion, a rich literature has poured in from the liberal schools of Germany and Holland, and has more or less trained and quickened the mind of the present generation, so that there cannot now be wanting qualified laborers in that reorganization of religious thought which is now taking place in our midst. Changes of sentiment and feeling cannot be simply imported from abroad. Till they pass through the minds of such men they have no local coloring and take no natural growth; and to modify English opinion and institutions there is need of *English* scholars. That need, we think, your encouragement can do something to supply. Such institutions as the 'Bampton Lectures' and others have done much to direct the public mind to certain well-defined views of Christianity. We believe that a similar institution might prove of high service in promoting independence of judgment combined with religious reverence, by exhibiting clearly from time to time some of the most important results of recent study in the great fields of philosophy, of biblical criticism, and comparative theology. We venture, therefore, to ask you to consider the expediency of establishing a 'Lecture' under the name of the 'Hibbert Lecture,' a course consisting of no fewer than six Lectures, delivered every two or three years. After delivery the course should be published under the direction of the managers of the Lecture, and thus by degrees the issues of unfettered inquiry would be placed in a compact form before the educated public."

This memorial embodies a scheme for the proposed Lecture Course, and clearly indicates its purposed intellectual and theological animus, with which it may be presumed the trustees also sympathized. The Lecture was accordingly determined on, and the results have answered to the promise of the undertaking.

The first course was delivered by Max Müller in 1878, on his favorite theme, "The Religions of India," as illustrating the origin and growth of religion, in which it is known that the comparison instituted was not especially favorable to Christianity. In 1879 P. le Page Renouf lectured in much the same spirit, and with like results, on the "Religion of Ancient Egypt." In 1880 Ernest Renan lectured on the "Influence of Ancient Rome on Early Christianity." The Lectures for 1881 were by Professor Davids, on Buddhism, as illustrating the origin and growth of religion; and those for 1882 were by the famous biblical critic, Kuenen, on "Natural and Universal Religions." In 1883 Charles Beard made the Reformation his theme, and pointed out, as he viewed the subject, its "relations to modern thought and knowledge." And last year Albert Réville discoursed on the "Native Religions of Mexico and Peru." Respecting the opinions expressed in these discussions it is enough to say of them that they are such as the memorial letter to the trustees seemed to call for, and also such as were assured by the previously known positions of the lecturers themselves. Most of them, it will be seen, are

Germans and Frenchmen, and generally persons notorious as among the more advanced class of rationalists of the Tübingen school. There is, too, in their lectures a manifest common purpose to show, from the history and character of the various ethnic religions brought into notice, that religious beliefs and observances, including by implication those of Christianity, are the results of natural causes, simply developments from man's natural mental activities, and subject to the universal law of evolution. Of course the Vedas and Eddas, the Bible and the Koran—the sacred books of different races—are all of the same general class; and Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Mohammed were, each among his own people, leaders, perhaps reformers, of their several ethnic religious systems. Sometimes there seems to be a kind of concession that by virtue of a specific religious tendency among the Semitic races the Hebrew Scriptures possess some peculiar excellences, but not without other counterbalancing characteristic defects. All religions are in some sense divine, because they have to do with divinities, real or imaginary; but revelation, in the proper Christian sense, must be wholly disallowed.

Professor Pfeiderer's production evinces a mind of real vigor and under good discipline, and also well informed in the literature of his subject. His utterances and allusions to Christ and his teachings are in their manner seldom offensive; indeed, they are not infrequently decidedly reverent in their tone. And since, on account of its importance and the position into which it is brought, the subject must be discussed, we welcome even such a production as this; yet while we would rejoice could it be undertaken by a competent hand, we are compelled to confess that the work as here done is very far from satisfactory. The lecturer evidently belongs to the extreme "Left" of German liberals, and though not wholly discarding all forms and facts of supernaturalism, he still does not hesitate to assume the presence of untruthfulness, prejudice, and questionable morality among the principal actors in the affairs that he has occasion to consider, not entirely excepting the Man of Nazareth from his censures.

In his first lecture its author endeavors to show that at first the Church at Jerusalem was designed to be only a reformed and spiritualized form of Judaism, and that it was thoroughly permeated and dominated by Jewish narrowness, of which Jesus himself was both a subject and a promoter; and that the episode of Grecian disturbance which resulted in the death of Stephen was entirely out of harmony with the doctrines and designs of the apostles. But the conversion of St. Paul, which was entirely aside from the Church at Jerusalem, started anew the partially suppressed irregularity. The doctrinal teaching of Paul, to which the second lecture is devoted, now the accepted doctrine of historical Christianity, it is assumed was not only original with himself, but it was entirely "another gospel" than the reformed Judaism of Jesus and his apostles. The third lecture sets forth the progress of the conflict between the Gentile and the Jewish forms of Christianity, with the relatively more rapid development of the former. The truce formed at Jerusalem, which concluded nothing; the contention between Paul and Peter at Antioch; the Judaists dogging

the course of Paul among the Gentiles; the violent polemics of Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians; his mitigated severity in the Epistles to the Corinthians, and the more didactic and irenic character of the Epistle to the Romans, in which writings Paul's gospel, as contradistinguished from that of the other apostles, is chiefly embodied,—are all considered in order. In stating these things the lecturer assumes the role of the judicial critic, with the presumption in advance that neither party had all the truth, and that either was capable of using questionable measures in order to compass its purposes. "The Reconciliation of Paulinism and Jewish Christianity" is the nominal subject of the fourth lecture, which rather goes to show how the conflict was continued and made perpetual by becoming embodied in the subsequently canonized books of the New Testament. The Epistle to the Philippians shows Paul's uncomfortable relations to his opponents at Rome while he was held a prisoner in that city. About that time the Book of Revelation was written, setting forth a "legal anti-Paulinism" and an "ideal Christology," and not the most friendly sentiments toward the heathen Christians. The Epistle of James was a trumpet-blast out of Zion against the Pauline heresy. Matthew's gospel was written with the same design, and the Sermon on the Mount is specifically and pointedly a polemic against Paul's antinomianism, while Mark is decidedly Paulinian and Luke equally so, but altogether conciliatory in tone. The fifth lecture is entitled "Paulinism and Gnosticism," and the attempt is made to detect decided traces of the Alexandrian *gnosis* in some of Paul's epistles, and especially the Epistle to the Hebrews, which also appeared still more largely in the later productions of some of his school—especially Barnabas and Marcian—and also to show that an anti-Pauline *gnosis* cropped out in the pseudo-Clementine writings. In the sixth lecture we are taught how and by what influences Paulinism became at length the accepted Catholic orthodoxy, under the favoring hands of Clement and Ignatius, and was at length firmly entrenched by the overpowering will and intellect of Augustine. A thousand years later Huss and Wiclif gave an anti-Catholic application to Paulinism, in which they were followed by Luther, who through its spirit organized the forces that resulted in the Reformation.

In his discussions the lecturer incidentally introduces some strange, not to say novel, notions. In respect to Christ, while at one point he speaks of him as a Jew, with all the narrow one-sidedness of his people, he is elsewhere referred to as a real incarnation of the pre-existing celestial man after whose image Adam was created. Paul's conversion was simply psychological, and his opposition to Jewish exclusiveness was, the outcome of the non-recognition of his apostleship by the Church at Jerusalem. His doctrine is treated as logically antinomianism, though he himself did not follow it to its practical results, and the opposition that he encountered was quite as largely ethical as dogmatical.

We lay down the volume with a deep sense of disappointment. Its title awakened the hope that at length a competent investigation had been made of a most important but rather inadequately discussed subject con-

nected with the early development of Christian doctrine and the planting and training of the Church by the apostles. But, instead of this, we are treated to fanciful notions and bold but baseless assumptions of facts and purposes, and to conceptions of Christianity which are simply travesties and caricatures. And this we are to receive as the precious result of the removal of "traditional restraints" from the discussion of theology and Church history. We plead for free thought and free speech with the most "liberal," but if what are here given are the best results that can be obtained, it may seem doubtful whether such freedom is indeed a boon. Nor can we believe that English-speaking Christendom will be ready to accept and follow this new evangel, which tells us chiefly of the folly and falsehood of the venerated names of the past, and gives no assurance for the future. The Anglo-Saxon mind and heart will not be deluded by such Teutonic and Gallic vagaries.

The Abiding Sabbath. An Argument for the Perpetual Obligation of the Lord's Day. (The Fletcher Prize Essay for 1884.) By REV. GEORGE ELLIOTT. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: American Tract Society.

The Fletcher Prize Fund was constituted a few years ago by a gentleman of Boston, and its administration committed to the trustees of Dartmouth College. Its design, as set forth by its founder, is to resist "the powerful influences constantly active in drawing professed Christians into fatal conformity with the world," and its method is to procure and publish, once in two years, a prize essay, "setting forth truth and reasoning calculated to counteract such worldly influences." The book above named is the essay for 1884, selected by a competent committee as the best of a considerable number offered, all on the same subject.

The writer's plan seems to be, in Part I, to set forth the nature of *Sabbath*—not of any specially recognized institution, but of a season of religious rest. Part II treats of the Sabbath of the Israelites, and Part III of the "Sabbath of Redemption." The statement of the case in the first part is a judicious setting forth of the inestimable social and religious value of a Sabbath; the second discusses the Sabbath of the Old Testament in its specially Jewish, and also in its universal and perpetual, characteristics and relations. The third part attempts to develop the true theory of the Christian Sabbath as a necessity and a fact—the first very readily demonstrated, but as to the second, wanting in the explicitness of statement that could be wished for. The argument of the book is forcible but calm, and distinctively persuasive rather than convincing; its spirit and its style are excellent. Its extensive use could not fail of the best results.

A Companion to the Revised Old Testament. By TALBOT W. CHAMBERS. 12mo, pp. 269. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The advent of the Revised Old Testament is, very naturally, the signal for the appearance of a multitude of collateral and subsidiary books, historical, illustrative, and explanatory, soon to be followed by discussions of the work done and criticisms of the changes made. This work has a

kind of official character, as Dr. Chambers was one of the Revisers, and what is here written is from knowledge acquired by his relations to that work. It treats of the need of a revision, the methods adopted and pursued in the work, the Old Testament text, changes in the several divisions of books. One of its chapters is headed "The American Appendix," and covers nearly fifty pages, made up of matters especially favored by the American Revisers, some of which prevailed, and some were defeated. As with the like cases in the New Testament, in many, perhaps most, of these we find no cause to be ashamed of either the scholarship or the good common sense of our countrymen. This "companion" volume cannot fail to be acceptable to those who shall desire to thoroughly understand the circumstances and conditions among which the Old Testament revision was made. It is well and ably done.

A Catechism of Christian Perfection. By Rev. E. T. CURNICK, A. M. 18mo, pp. 203.
Christian Perfection as Taught by John Wesley. Compiled by Rev. J. A. WOOD.
 With an Introduction by Bishop W. F. MALLALIEU. 12mo, pp. 288. Boston:
 M'Donald & Gill.

Our brethren who are making the advanced Christian life a specialty seem to be "spread into bands," and several of these have set up publishing houses, and they are producing some really valuable books, as well as some not so good. The Boston house named above seems just now to be especially productive, and the two books here named are among its latest and best. The "Catechism" is a comprehensive exposition of its subject, in plain and straightforward statements, and as nearly conformed to the best Methodist authorities as any work that we have seen. While not quite prepared to indorse all that it contains, we can nevertheless commend both its spirit and its general scriptural orthodoxy.

Mr. Wood, in the second of the above named works, undertakes the difficult task of restating Mr. Wesley's views of "Christian perfection;" but not a few readers and admirers of that great light of the Church have seemed to find in his writings a variety of statements, not all in perfect accord; and his "Treatise" on the subject was largely changed in its substance by annotations in the successive editions. Had he lived longer he would probably have further modified his statements. But Mr. Wood gives us a good book.

The Minor Prophets. With a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the Several Books. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor, etc. Vol. II. Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. 8vo, pp. 504. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers.

The same characteristics that were noticed and commended in our notice of the former volume of this Commentary apply with equal fitness to the present one. The introductions affixed to each prophetic book are models of conciseness and comprehensiveness united, and they are at once learned and yet easily understood. Though the writer is among the most scholarly, there is no other display of learning in his annotations than is given in the wonderfully lucid exposition and illustrations of the text.

Dr. Pusey was so exact in his devotion to the canon that no difficulties in that department are allowed to come in to vex his readers. All that we before said in favor of the ability and critical learning, and especially the conservative orthodoxy, of the first half of the work, may be applied without diminution to this.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This book is without date, either at the imprint or the end of the preface; but on the back of the leaf that bears the title is the designation of the copyright with the date, 1851. It was from that early edition that we learned the character of the book, and in that we see an ample justification of this new edition, which properly appears soon after the decease of its venerable author. Dr. Williams was no ordinary man—distinguished equally for the qualities of mind and heart, all of which are manifested advantageously in these lectures.

The Doctrine of Entire Sanctification Scripturally and Psychologically Examined. By Rev. W. JONES, M.D., St. Louis Conference. 12mo, pp. 255. Philadelphia: National Publishing House for the Promotion of Holiness.

This work is a fairly well-prepared restatement of the subject indicated by its title, with the usual excellences and the nearly as frequently occurring misconceptions. It is didactic and moderately hortatory, and somewhat philosophical, which may be a fault or an excellence. It may be read and pondered with profit.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State. A Story of Work and Exploration. By HENRY M. STANLEY. With over one hundred full-page and smaller illustrations, two large Maps, and several smaller ones. Two vols., 8vo. Vol. i, pp. xxvii, 528; vol. ii, pp. vii, 483. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1885.

The latest and greatest of all the numerous family of books of travels and explorations in Africa are beyond question the two magnificent volumes recently issued by Harper & Brothers, detailing the marvelous story of the doings of Mr. Henry M. Stanley in Central Africa. In them the great explorer continues to be, as heretofore, his own chronicler, and accordingly we have such a record of these transactions as could have been made by no other. This work has some properties in common with Cæsar's "Commentaries" on his wars in Gaul and Britain, but it is altogether superior to these in nearly all of its chief features. Its style is the perfection of plainness, presenting its simpler facts without coloring or distortion, which is itself high praise, since on account of the intrinsic interest of its facts any attempt at merely literary embellishment would be a manifest impertinence. The writer has something to relate, and he proceeds to do it, trusting to the value of what he has to say for the acceptance of his narrative, which confidence is abundantly justified by the result. The work will, no doubt, constitute the principal literary event of the season, not

only in this country and Great Britain, but also in all Europe, into whose principal languages it has been translated, so as to be issued simultaneously in eight different versions.

From the necessities of the case, the writer, as he was the chief actor in the transactions that he records, is kept in the foreground; but there is throughout a remarkable absence of every thing like self-glorification, or the appearance of self-consciousness; he seems to have thought only of his work, and accordingly he compels his reader also to think only of that. The zeal and enthusiasm with which the business in hand is seen to be pursued readily passes over to the reader, who is unconsciously drawn into a lively sympathy with the subject, and so becomes oblivious to its accessories. The difficulties among which the work was prosecuted were of the most formidable character, arising partly from natural obstructions, but much more from the lack of appreciation, the stupidity, and the perverseness of those upon whose co-operation the chief actor was more or less dependent. The story of the opening of the road from Vivi to Stanley Pool has but few parallels in history or romance, as a display of patience and perseverance among discouragements, of fertility of mental resources, and of unconquerable pluck and will power. Compared with it, such achievements as Cortez's campaign in Mexico or Hannibal's passage of the Alps appear commonplace, since these were provided in advance with the requisite appliances, and the assured help of disciplined armies, while of all these Stanley had only the scantiest provision.

The appreciation of the work grows upon the reader as he proceeds with the narrative, in view of the purposes to be achieved by the enterprise, till at length it possesses his imagination and awakens his sympathy with it and with its chief agent. The geographical extent of the country to be occupied and redeemed—the great Congo Basin—presents an area of a million and a half of square miles, equal to twenty-five times that of New York or Pennsylvania; fertile, well-watered, elevated, and salubrious, with a sturdy population of forty millions, and capabilities for indefinite increase. These things may be expressed in words and figures, but the mind fails to grasp their greatness. The ultimate purposes sought to be reached are alike unusual and morally sublime. War and spoliation and political aggrandizement are purposely excluded, and the attempt is to be made to deal with a barbarous race on principles of justice and humanity; and surely an end so admirable is worthy of any cost that the experiment may require. The undertaking contemplates the introduction of a Christian civilization into the "Dark Continent," not, however, as a religious crusade, nor specifically as a missionary enterprise. And yet Mr. Stanley has, by personal observation, become so well convinced of the vast capabilities of Christian missions, as a civilizing agency, that he invites their co-operation as independent auxiliaries.

As a virgin soil for the planting of Christian missions, Congo possesses wonderful capabilities, and is remarkably inviting. Here there is offered to the godly enterprise of the Churches a somewhat homogeneous population, only less numerous than two others of the world's races—the

Chinese and Hindus—to whom the Gospel has never been preached; and all these, as was never before the case in such large proportions, are literally waiting for the Gospel. The freedom decreed for the great State of Congo applies especially to all matters of religion; and everywhere in all that land, and among its teeming millions, the missionary has the right of way secured by its organic law. Here, too, is a climate exceptionally salubrious, offering the most favorable conditions for vigorous activity and labor, and for long life. No doubt here, as everywhere, heathenism presents a rank growth of ungodliness and spiritual corruption; and here, as elsewhere also, the power of the Gospel is equal to any demands that may be made upon it. Here, too, no doubt, it will be possible to establish Christian churches and social communities that shall themselves become centers and sources of Christian life and influence, adequate at once for their own maintenance, or for the extension of the Gospel to the regions beyond; for in Africa, as elsewhere, missions to be healthy and fruitful must be chiefly self-supporting.

Great praise is due to the publishers for the style in which they have brought out these noble volumes. The material used is substantial and sufficiently firm; the print is large and clear, making the reading a luxury, and generally the book-maker's work is all that could be desired. Each volume has a portrait—frontispiece: the first, a steel engraving of King Leopold of Belgium; and the second, an excellent wood-cut of the author. Each volume has also a large pocket-map, and throughout the work are smaller maps and views of places and objects that greatly facilitate the understanding of the letter-press descriptions.

The Life of Rev. John S. Inskip, President of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness. By WM. McDONALD and J. E. SEARLES. 12mo, pp. 374. Boston: Published by McDonald & Gill, Office of the Christian Witness.

It is well that the character and career of J. S. Inskip should be duly delineated for the comfort of his surviving fellow-workers, and for the edification of all Christians; and the authors and editors of this volume merit the thanks of all these because of the book here given to us. It may be that the views of the writers, as they have here embodied them, are somewhat one-sided, lacking the rounded fullness of the mind and heart of their subject; and certainly it is a very inadequate expression of the character of the man to describe him as simply the first officer of a body of Christian workers. In a former issue of the Review we have attempted to indicate somewhat of our estimate of his character and religious experience, and his relations to the religious life of his times. The writers speak modestly of their performance, but the many friends of their remarkable subject will thank them for their work.

Life of Edward Thomson, D.D., LL.D., late a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By his Son, Rev. EDWARD THOMSON, M.A. Pp. 336. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The name and fame of Bishop Thomson is the property of his Church, and it is the right thing that they should be duly conserved. It was

also among his special providential favors that he should have a son to bear his name, to become his successor in the ministry, and to prepare his biography. The book, for some time promised, is at length in hand, and all interested in the matter are to be congratulated that the work is done, and so well done. It was a difficult and delicate duty self-imposed upon the son, who has wisely allowed his subject to largely speak for himself, of himself, through his letters and other written memorials, selections from which are given, chosen with good taste and discreetly. The whole composition brings its admirable and unique subject very fully into view—an image that none can contemplate without becoming nobler and better. The book is a valuable contribution to our denominational biography.

EDUCATIONAL.

The After-School Series: College Latin Course in English. 'By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: Chautauqua Press.

No class of readers will more highly value such a book as this than the Collegian a few years after graduation, when his re-readings will be like a visit to old familiar haunts without the toil and vexation with which they were first traversed. To the Chautauqua Graduate, who, it seems to be tacitly assumed, never read the original, such an Anglicized selection of Latin Readings is perhaps the best substitute, and it is well, therefore, that selections like this and its kindred volumes should be made. We said a good word for the "Greek Course," by the same author, when it first appeared, but we think he improves by practice. It is really a well-ordered digest of some of the best specimens of Classical Latin.

The Student's Ecclesiastical History, Part II. The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages: with a Summary of the Reformation. Centuries XI to XVI. By PHILIP SMITH, B.A., Author of the "Student's Old Testament History" and the "Student's New Testament History." With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 699. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Harper & Brothers' "Student Series" of histories, now extending to fourteen or fifteen volumes, constitute an extensive and somewhat comprehensive historical library. They are eminently compact books, in respect to their literary composition and their material make-up, for each volume of about seven hundred closely printed pages is equal to two of the ordinary large octavos, and by the most thorough condensation, not really abridgment, the matter itself is brought within one half its original space, or else, as with the Scripture and ecclesiastical histories, it is written out anew. The volume before us is a complement to one issued in 1879, entitled "The History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries, from its Foundation to the Full Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papal Power." It begins where Part I closed, with the deaths of the Emperor Otho III. and Pope Sylvester II. (A. D. 1002-3), and extends to the coronation of Charles V. and the Diet and Confession of

Augsburg (in 1530), and of the death of Pope Clement VII. and of the severance of the English Church from Rome (in 1534). It then exhibits in successive books the constitution, worship, and doctrines of the Mediaeval Church, the monastic and mendicant orders, the learning, universities, and scholasticism of the period, with the sects and heresies that arose, thus coming to the Reformation, of which only a brief summary could be given.

For the general reader, and, indeed, for all who have not access to the larger Church histories, this volume is excellently adapted. It is admirably written, and with a view to meet the want frequently felt of something to supply what works of civil history leave in obscurity.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Errors of Evolution: An Examination of the Nebular Theory, Geological Evolution, the Origin of Life, and Darwinism. By ROBERT PATTERSON, Author of "The Fable of Infidelity." Edited, with an Introduction, by H. L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." 12mo, pp. 271. Boston: H. L. Hastings, 47 Cornhill.

The fallacies of the evolution theory, *hypothesis* rather, as presented by its special advocates, are sufficiently obvious; and scarcely less so, those of a numerous class of their antagonists. Nevertheless, there is a form of evolution in nature that is not all fallacy.

From the Golden Gate to the Golden Horn. A Narrative of Travel and Adventure. By HENRY FREDERIC REDDALL. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A decidedly readable and instructive book, clearly conveying valuable information in a pleasant manner. The eye and ear are kept attent to all the sights and sounds recorded, and the reader's interest is secured from first to last. We trust ere long to accompany the author on another jaunt. The execution is worthy of the matter; the pictures and the framing are alike good.

The Morals of Christ. A Comparison with Contemporaneous Systems. By AUSTIN BIERBOWER, Author of "Principles of a System of Philosophy," etc. Paper covers. 12mo, pp. 200. Chicago, Ill.: Colegrove Book Co.

Divinity of Our Lord in Relation to His Work of Atonement. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, Author of "The Tongue of Fire," etc. (Present Day Tracts, No. 35.) 16mo, pp. 64. London: 56 Paternoster Row.

Peter: Not an Apostle, but a Chattel, with a Strange History. By Rev. R. ABBEY. Paper covers, 16mo, pp. 59. Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House. Printed for the Author.

Standard League Document, No. 1. Non-Partisanship in Temperance Effort Defined, Advocated, and Vindicated. By Rev. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 16mo, pp. 62. Boston: National Temperance League.

Bible Promises. Sermons to Children. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D. 18mo, pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Christian Evolution; or, The Divine Process in Human Redemption. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. 12mo, pp. 75.

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A Hand-Book of the United Brethren in Christ. A Brief Compendium of the History, Doctrine, Government, and General Sunday-school, Missionary, Publishing, and Educational Work of the United Brethren Church; with Historical Tables of General Church Officers and Educational Institutions. Prepared by E. L. SHUEY, A.M., of Otterbein University. 18mo, pp. 50. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, W. J. SHUEY, Agent.

A brief, but convenient, sketch of a Christian body that deserves to be better known.

Self-Sacrifice Victorious. Rays of Divine Light on the Future of Mankind. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. 12mo, pp. 59. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace.

Ingenious, speculative—not always reliable.

Valeria, the Martyr of the Catacombs. A Tale of Early Christian Life in Rome. By W. H. WITHROW, D.D., Author of "The Catacombs of Rome," etc. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. \$1.

There is a vast deal of romance in the early Christian history, as disclosed in the monuments of the Catacombs, of which Dr. Withrow is the recognized interpreter; and much of this is here wrought into a story—in form a fiction—but truthful and life-like in its details.

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This book is not one for absolute beginners, yet, on the whole, Dr. Terry has written for learners rather than the learned. His style is clear and strong, his sentences compact and vigorous, his mastery of his materials evident, and his distribution of the subject perspicuous and helpful. The book can be unequivocally recommended to all ministers and theological students who are seeking a complete and reliable treatise on all subjects connected with the interpretation of the Bible.—*Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

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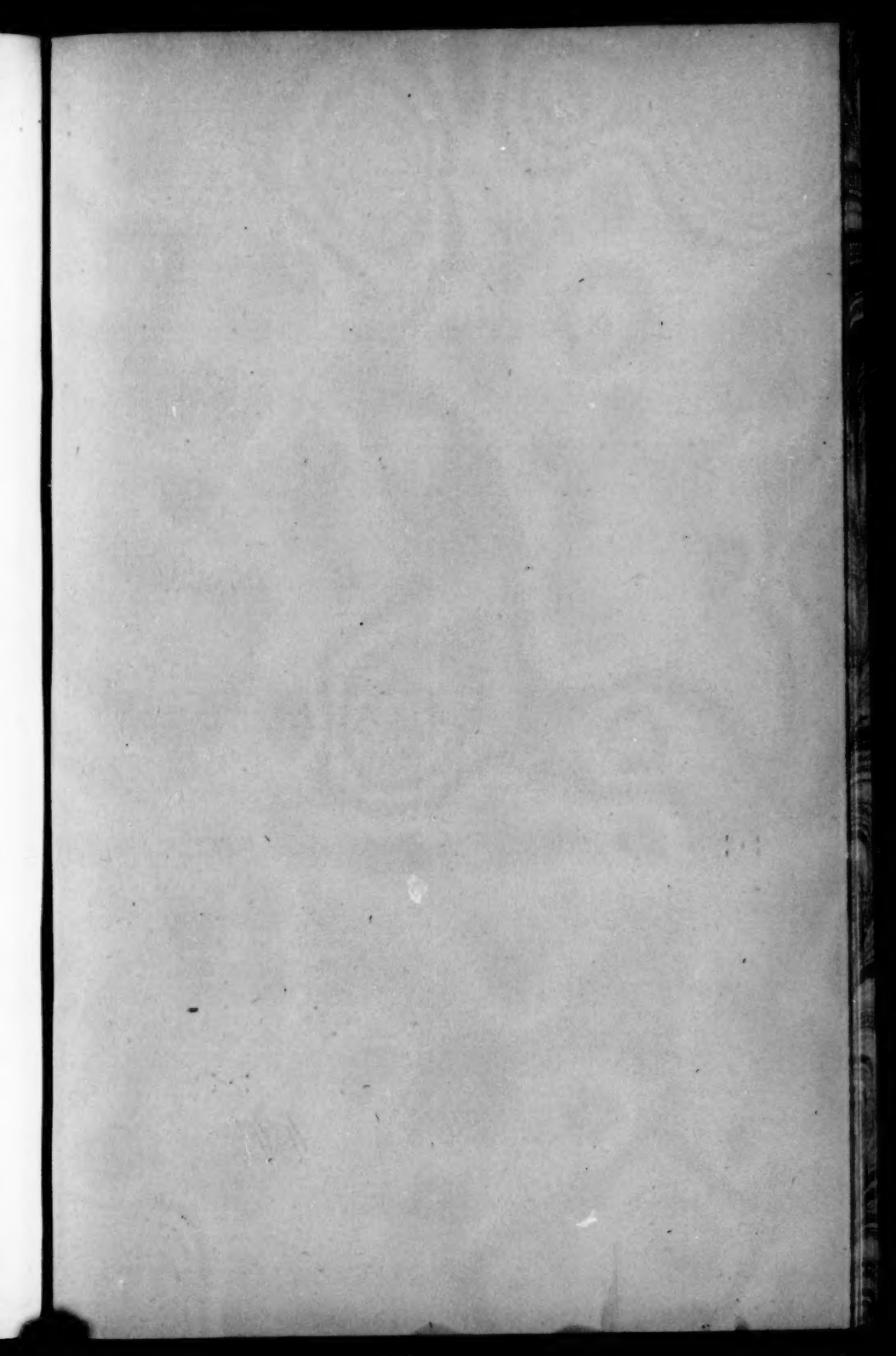
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